Itineraries in French Renaissance Literature

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Itineraries in French Renaissance Literature

Essays for Mary B. McKinley

Edited by

Jeff Persels, Kendall Tarte, and George Hoffmann

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Introduction. Itineraries in French Renaissance Literature

Kendall Tarte, George Hoffmann, and Jeff Persels

Sixteenth-century French literature invites the contemplation and exploration of itineraries. Michel de Montaigne's *Journal de voyage* records the essayist's journey from France to Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. François Rabelais's Pantagruel, Panurge, and company travel far and wide in an extraordinary fictional world. In the prologue to the *Heptaméron*, Marguerite de Navarre's collection of tales, the geographical peregrinations of the ten storytellers leading to Notre-Dame-de-Sarrance set the stage for the eight days of shared storytelling that would follow, which themselves map contemporary mores. The Americas were the locus of the voyages of exploration narrated and embroidered in the works of travel writers such as Jacques Cartier, André Thevet, and Samuel de Champlain. Tacking to the contradictory winds of religious change constituted an entirely new form of personal and collective itinerary, one that would exploit and expand the new printing technologies in ways that forever changed the confessional—and political—map of Europe. And humanist inquiry created new routes for the dissemination of knowledge.

An itinerary is a course of travel, the route of a journey; it is also the account of such a journey. Renaissance books recorded actual and imaginary travels in itineraries of landscapes both familiar and unknown. The theme of literary itineraries also has rich metaphorical potential. The lines of inspiration connecting Renaissance and ancient authors, the transformations of language, the emergence of new kinds of writing and new kinds of writers—these and other essential characteristics of this period encourage us to trace the itineraries of literature itself. The theme of itineraries, broadly defined, is an apt one for the present volume in honor of Professor Mary B. McKinley. Mary's scholarship throughout her career has explored metaphorical and actual itineraries. The present work celebrates her scholarship by collecting a broad spectrum of essays that grapple in a variety of ways with the theme of itineraries in sixteenth-century French literature.

Visual images of the Renaissance created itineraries of exploration and imagination. The series of elaborately decorated maps that Scott Juall examines produces an itinerary of ideal, rather than real, imperial expansion. The Italian humanist Gabriele Simeoni adopted and adapted the popular genre of travel literature to recount his travels in Italy, yet as Karen Simroth James

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shows, the resulting text and accompanying images rely as much on invention as on actual observation. The figures drawn by Sir Thomas Smith in his copy of the *Heptaméron*, which Kendall Tarte considers, complement the work's narrative itinerary and mimic the images found on contemporary maps.

Beyond the physical journeys recounted in its prologue, the *Heptaméron* evokes other itineraries within and beyond its pages. The book's frame structure—the alternation between the discussions among the *devisants* and the tales they tell—leads the reader on a narrative itinerary that pointedly resembles that of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The studies of three contributors to this volume show new itineraries in the analysis and reception of the *Heptaméron*. In his close reading of one frame discussion, Gary Ferguson offers a fresh perspective on women's sexual agency in Marguerite's book. Bernd Renner looks to the genre of satire as the basis for his innovative reconsideration of the *nouvelle* collection. Cynthia Skenazi analyzes a little-known nineteenth-century play based on the *Heptaméron*, tracing, as it were, its afterlife.

The reception among recent scholars of the work of another author, Louise Labé, creates a complex critical itinerary that Leah Chang navigates in her contribution, which revisits key questions about female authorship in the Renaissance. Kathleen Long forges a route for Michel de Montaigne's *Essais* that extends through nineteenth-century treatises on hermaphrodites to present-day work in the field of disability studies. Complementing these studies of the paths that link the sixteenth and twenty-first centuries, other contributors examine the strategies that Renaissance authors used to create itineraries connecting their work to the past. Virginia Krause follows the trail of the figure of Dido in Virgil, Ovid, and Augustine to propose an innovative interpretation of the *Angoysses douloureuses*. Dido also figures prominently in Edwin Duval's essay, which follows her path from Virgil and Petrarch to Maurice Scève, along the way provocatively turning on its head the way we read gendered lyric. Cara Welch scrutinizes Montaigne's complex portrait of the figure of the Athenian statesman and general Alcibiades, whose multivalent example helps shape the essays and Montaigne's connection to the omnipresent and omnipotent classical past. As Stephen Murphy shows, the first-century historian Josephus provided Agrippa d'Aubigné with models for depicting history and for acting in it. Nicolas Russell focuses on Clément Marot's edition of the works of the fifteenth-century poet François Villon, as well as on editions of Marot's own poetry, in his study of the Marot's stance on the preservation of cultural memory.

The transmission and transformation of different forms of knowledge in the Renaissance also create itineraries. Both Nicholas Shangler and Robert Hudson work against the typical narrative itinerary that describes the vernacularization of French in the sixteenth century in triumphant terms. In his study

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of Marot's use of the *rondeau* form, Hudson demonstrates how this narrative unfairly discredits the pre-Pléiade poet. Shangler's examination of linguistic misunderstandings in Des Périers's *Nouvelles Récréations* reveals the comic potential of the French language at this moment of change. In her study of Guillaume Rondelet's monkfish, Pascale Barthe shows the complex social networks through which the diffusion of scientific knowledge in the Renaissance took place.

The religious conflicts in sixteenth-century France signaled the breakdown of networks and the instability of the route towards salvation. Cathy Yandell assesses the rhetoric of Pierre de Ronsard and Michel de L'Hospital at a key moment in this itinerary, on the eve of the outbreak of the first of eight wars. Through analysis of a peculiar polemical work on tonsure printed at the same moment, Jeff Persels shows how even the contours of crown and facial hair could mark the right road to salvation. The case of one "serial convert," Hugues Sureau du Rosier, provides the focus for George Hoffmann's study of shifting confessional identities. Corinne Noirot considers the various audiences addressed by Jean de la Taille in two pamphlets on divination, which provide one answer to the question of how to navigate the uncertainty of the religious conflicts.

Perhaps no Renaissance author shows the potential—and the potential variety—of itineraries like Michel de Montaigne. Mary McKinley's work on Montaigne concentrates on this variety. In her first book, *Words in a Corner: Studies in Montaigne's Latin Quotations*, she follows the intersections of text and intertext in her study of Montaigne's use of quotations from Ovid, Horace, and Virgil in his *Essais*.[1] The spatial metaphor that Montaigne uses in "De la vanité" (III, 9) to refer to clues he leaves in the text to help the reader follow his subject—a word in a corner—provides an image for Mary's own study of Latin quotations in the *Essais*. The metaphors that establish Montaigne's book itself as a route or a journey inspire Mary's second book on Montaigne, *Les Terrains vagues des* Essais: *Itinéraires et intertextes*.[2] There, the crucial itinerary is through Montaigne's landscape of the mind. As she notes, "[Montaigne] invites us to consider his progress towards knowledge as an itinerary that he delineates by spatial metaphors, landscape metaphors" (10). ["Il nous invite à

1 *Words in a Corner: Studies in Montaigne's Latin Quotations*. Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1981.

2 Mary B. McKinley, *Les Terrains vagues des* Essais: *Itinéraires et intertextes* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996).

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envisager son progrès vers la connaissance comme un itinéraire qu'il balise par des métaphores spatiales, métaphores paysagistes."]

In her wide-ranging work on Marguerite de Navarre, Mary has often focused on the situation of sixteenth-century women.[3] She has traced the appearances of Marguerite as a character in the *Heptaméron*, constructing an itinerary of authorial self-representation through the seventy-two tales.[4] Mary's own itinerary as a scholar has moved among canonical Renaissance authors—especially Marguerite de Navarre and Montaigne—and those less well known. In particular, her work on Marie Dentière brought to a wide readership this singular female voice from Reformation Geneva.[5] Mary has also ventured outside of these main areas of focus to explore other topics, writers, and domains. A particularly moving example treats a group of wooden sculptures of sibyls in the choir stalls of the cathedral in the village of Saint-Bertrand de Comminges in the Pyrenees.[6] This article not only elegantly analyzes the sculptures and sets them in their historical context, but also conveys Mary's longtime fascination with—one might even say affection for—these works of art.

This volume is grounded in our own affection for Mary McKinley. Its genesis is a series of presentations in her honor at two conferences: the 2013 Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and the 2014 University of Virginia Department of French Müller Colloquium, entitled *Renaissance Itineraries*. The authors of the essays in this collection—younger and established scholars of the French Renaissance, Mary's colleagues from across the United States, her former students—are, above all, her friends. This volume honors Mary McKinley's career as a scholar, teacher, and mentor to all of those whose itineraries in the field of French Renaissance studies she has influenced and inspired. The five groups of essays that follow take up many of the themes and authors that Mary has examined in her scholarship and explored with

3 Most notable are her two co-edited volumes, with John D. Lyons, *Critical Tales: New Studies of the* Heptameron *and Early Modern Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) and, with Gary Ferguson, *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

4 See, for example, "Scriptural Speculum: What Can We See in the *Heptaméron*'s Mirror?" in *Women's Writing in the French Renaissance: Proceedings of the Fifth Cambridge French Renaissance Colloquium, 7–9 July 1997*, eds. Philip Ford and Gillian Jondorf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 63–73, and "Telling Secrets: Sacramental Confession and Narrative Authority in the *Heptaméron*," in Lyons and McKinley, *Critical Tales*, 146–71.

5 See especially *Epistle to Marguerite de Navarre and Preface to a Sermon by John Calvin*, ed. and trans. Mary B. McKinley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

6 "From Cave to Choir: The Journey of the Sibyls," in *Pre-Histories and Afterlives: Studies towards a New Cultural History*. Symposium in Honor of Terence Cave, eds. Richard Scholar and Anna Holland (London: Legenda, 2009), 45–59.

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students in her classes. More broadly, they aim to pay tribute to her sharp analytical mind and to her generous spirit.

On Telling Tales

In "Puns, Exemplarity, and Women's Sexual Agency: Nomerfide and Oisille, *Heptaméron* 5 and 6," Gary Ferguson offers a fine-grained close reading of tales five and six that teases out the importance of what, at first glance, might seem like one of the younger and less important *devisants*. Examining in particular the biting exchange between Oisille and Nomerfide, Ferguson avoids polarizing the oldest and the youngest female participants, as earlier critics have done. Instead, he uses this moment to redefine the kind of community that obtains among the women storytellers. In doing so, his aim is to chart a prudent middle course between traditional readings that see women as subordinate, and more recent ones that have tried to highlight moments of transgression in early modern depictions of women such as Nomerfide. What emerges is a vision of limited but real agency in which women must carefully weigh their choices and act with discretion. The upshot is one of a clear-eyed Marguerite who recognizes the confines within which women of her time had to move, but who also recognizes the range of desires women can enjoy.

Cynthia Skenazi's "A Palimpsest of the *Heptaméron*: Eugène Scribe's *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre ou La Revanche de Pavie*" unearths a wonderfully anachronistic nineteenth-century dramatic adaptation of the *Heptaméron* that mixes in one of the most important events from Marguerite's own younger life: her negotiation for the liberation of François I^{er}, captive in Madrid following the French defeat in Pavia. The play coincides with a critical moment in the reception of Marguerite's work, when a fledgling, mid-century national literary history took notice of her, thanks to her illustrious standing, and began the long process of admitting her work into the French canon. However slight it may seem today, this play decisively influenced how Marguerite's work would be read for generations. In particular, this study argues that the play acted to suggest that, like the play itself, the *Heptaméron* was essentially comedic and "light." Skenazi carefully weighs Scribe's omissions and instances of faithfulness to sources, compares his work to Victor Hugo's recent plays, and probes for reactions to the contemporary political climate in France. She shows how nineteenth-century imaginings of court life merge here into a *théâtre de boulevard*, or even a soap opera, in which amorous intrigues take the place of other concerns. In particular, Scribe overlooks the preoccupation that probably stood as most important to Marguerite herself: religion. Barely mentioned

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in the play, only to be shifted back into a political question more germane to Scribe's time than Marguerite's, religion is conspicuously absent in this portrayal of Marguerite and her work.

In "Readers Writing in the Gordon Collection *Heptaméron*," Kendall Tarte evokes the rich analogue world of an original, hand-annotated edition in order to highlight the importance of the Douglas H. Gordon Collection at the University of Virginia Library. This essay focuses on one of the most interesting volumes of that collection, the 1560 Gruget edition of the *Heptaméron* and the annotation of the Elizabethan ambassador Thomas Smith. Particularly of interest are the schematic figures of cities that Smith was wont to place in his volumes. In this book, such figures coincide nicely with the geographical emphasis already manifest in the work's prologue; Smith's visual markers therefore push the words' topographical potential to the fore and highlight the similarity to a "map" that the prologue is providing the reader for the rest of the work. There follows a careful study of the notes that Douglas Gordon himself left in this book, and a charming coda that evokes the notes that Mary McKinley makes in her editions, as indeed do we all, traces of books' ability to awaken a "potential for humanity."

In "Itineraries of Satire: Polysemy and Morality in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*," Bernd Renner extends his important work on satire by teasing out a number of parallels between satire, classically defined, and Marguerite's novella collection. This essay is driven by rhetorical categories, called in to compensate for satire's notorious generic instability. Nonetheless, Renner rightly distinguishes Marguerite's labile use of the genre from the monological Juvenalian brand of satire, increasingly coming to dominate religious polemic.

Nicholas Shangler's "Language Lessons: Homophones and Gender Confusion in Des Périers's *Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis*" argues that our settled, comfortable assumptions regarding communication prove misleading when looking at the Renaissance, when observers were more likely to emphasize the shortcomings of human language in a fallen, post-Babel world. The period is more often celebrated as one in which vernacularism triumphs, printing acts as an "agent of change," and widespread literacy emerges thanks to the Reformation. The Renaissance marks the moment of the ascendancy of communication as we now know it: pervasive, media independent, democratic. As this essay shows, Des Périers is concerned particularly with the question of regional differences in French that stand in the way of imposing one standard national language. The focus on one particular category of linguistic misunderstanding reflects one specific historical problem of language: spelling standardizations of a vernacular that until then had remained in major part oral.

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In "The Dido Effect and the Rise of the French Novel," Virginia Krause examines the curious *Angoysses douloureuses* in order to elucidate the unstable transitional period between romance and the novel. The lack of generic definition and clear precedent are presented here as a quintessential "humanist" opportunity which affords the author Hélisenne de Crenne remarkable latitude to invent, explore, and mix genres. Krause contends that epic provides the underlying architecture and rationale for the *Angoysses's* seemingly ill-fitting three parts. She evokes the unfulfilled expectations surrounding the epic in France during these years—one thinks of Du Bellay's *Regrets*, which similarly yearns toward the form. This essay grounds these larger problems and the paradox they seemingly pose in being applied to the *Angoysses* in a careful study of the parallels between the protagonist Hélisenne and Dido. Both textual and contextual details are assembled to make a compelling case for seeing this book as an opportune recentering of the epic around a woman's perspective in an "elegiac" mode. Augustine's depiction of Dido further explains the penitential turn in the *Angoysses's* third part. Finally, all of this is finely linked to the practice of having younger boys play women's roles at school and all boys reciting female speeches as part of their expressive training in Latin.

On Poets and Poetry

Edwin Duval's exacting "Maurice Scève and the Feminized Voice of Courtly Lyric" begins by arguing how echoes of Virgil's Dido proved explicit enough in Petrarch that readers were meant to understand the male poet to be consciously adopting a woman's persona. Returning to the subject of some of his most illuminating early studies, Duval applies this insight to the famously elusive poetry of Maurice Scève. The poet's identifications with mythical females, as well as with natural phenomena typically gendered female, reinforce the sense that he has adopted a feminine role. By inverting solar and lunar imagery, and the god and goddess associated with each, Scève suggests that, in love, "the man is woman and the woman is the man." Further, Duval claims this to act as a structural feature of Petrarchan love, one that lends such poetry its peculiar evocative force. He traces the phenomenon to the courtly transposition of feudal relations between lord and vassal onto the lady and her subservient lover. But rather than take this earlier inversion as given—a precedent that serves to close the issue—he invites us to consider how the courtly unsettling of traditional assumptions about the subordination of one sex to the other exercises profound implications for how we read authors like Pernette du Guillet and

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Louise Labé who attempted to reclaim the woman's voice in a lyric tradition that had already so thoroughly assimilated it. If the voluble lover and silent lady stand as paradoxical reversals of traditional gender roles, then in order to challenge Petrarchan fashion, these poets would have had to reinstate an order in which the man is the man and the woman is the woman.

Leah L. Chang's "In Search of 'La Belle Cordière': The Rise and Fall of Louise Labé" leads skillfully from the questions surrounding Labé's first appearance in print to Mireille Huchon's controversial denial of her existence a decade ago. As with Shakespeare, the claim involves denying that anyone other than a well-schooled, high-standing man could have written the work; unlike in the case of Shakespeare, as Chang sharply points out, Labé's work does not enjoy established institutional support and therefore proves far more vulnerable to such questions of authenticity. Standing back from the immediate debates triggered by Huchon's work, Chang uses the occasion to explore broader questions regarding the ways in which historicizing, gender-based, and even intellectual history modes of criticism all rely upon the hoary category of the author's biography. This emerges as a particular anomaly in the wake of how gender studies detached gender from biological sex. If gender is a labile creation which different writers can inhabit variously, should it matter at all whether a particular work was written by a woman? Chang argues forcefully for continuing to read Labé's work for what it demonstrates about the construction of gender, regardless of who wrote it.

Nicolas Russell uses the concept of cultural memory in place of the more familiar "collective memory" to examine Clément Marot's relation to François Villon. "Clément Marot and the Frames of Cultural Memory" pursues an extended reflection on the early awareness of the importance of institutional infrastructure—the "court," and royal laws and patronage stemming from the court, influencing the use of French. Russell focuses on the promotion of poets as "memory specialists" who attain such a qualification through the virtuoso manipulation of poetic rules.

In revisiting Du Bellay's rejection of Marot's poetry, Robert J. Hudson shows just how clearly the rise of vernacular French in the wake of 1539 Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts did *not* constitute the liberation of a popular idiom or the triumph of a native tongue over the Latin one. "*Naïve douceur*: Earthy Grist and Gallic Verve in the Marotic Rondeau" demonstrates rather that vernacularizing movements like the Pléiade aspired to create a new prestige language on the model of Latin, and disdained French as it was spoken by ordinary people. Marot suffered precisely because he wedded literary form so seamlessly to a natural, conversational style. Against a long critical tradition that has tended to celebrate Pléiade ideals, Hudson champions poets who held a

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closer relationship to regional dialect and French as it was spoken; he does so through borrowing, with a smile, the oenological notion of "terroir." His case study focuses on the home-grown form of the *rondeau*, a specifically Gallican genre that Marot perfected, which illustrates the features of a truly indigenous style. Villers-Cotterêts and the Pléiade did not inaugurate a tradition of native French literature; they killed one that was already well-developed at the end of the fifteenth century.

On Religious Controversies

Cathy Yandell's "Rhetorics of Peace: Pierre de Ronsard and Michel de L'Hospital on the Eve of the French Wars of Religion" revisits a fraught decade of France's history, one in which the country lurched irreversibly into thirty years of bloody civil war. She tracks this evolution first through Ronsard's increasingly belligerent rhetoric, and then through L'Hospital's political remonstrances that exhibit a similar faith in the power of words to shape the outcome of events. Although L'Hospital has long been regarded as a forerunner of modern advocates of tolerance, Yandell uncovers a considerably firmer, more partisan politician who only hesitated over the means of returning to a confessionally united France, not the end of religious unity itself. Diversity of opinion naturally counted in the sixteenth century as a symptom to be suffered, not an end to be pursued. Yet L'Hospital's willingness to envision this state of affairs indefinitely, awaiting a slow cure rather than hazarding a violent remedy, nonetheless leaves us with something to learn from the patience of his policies.

Building upon previous work on the importance of beards as an outward marker of confessional identity among reformers, Jeff Persels pursues his long-standing study of the material practices that underwrote the spiritual aims of the Reformation. "Bearding the Pope, circa 1562" identifies the Italian source text for the leading polemical attack on tonsuring in Valeriano Bolzani's "defense" of clerical beards. Widening out from this specific example, Persels fields a bracing demonstration of how important mundane actions, such as shaving, could prove in the momentous undertaking of restoring Christianity to its true form—in the event, prefiguring the Reformation's turn toward a masculinist, patriarchal social model. This study also demonstrates another lesson: namely, that no matter how concrete and simple the material practice, it can invoke an entire history of accumulated attitudes. Appealing to patristic tradition, biblical and canon law, and even the "law of nature," polemical works regarding tonsuring show how reformers actively engaged in the process of creating a tradition for themselves. Less concerned with rupture and revolution than

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modern accounts often make them seem, reformers instead invested much energy into collecting, assembling, and shaping a "past" out of which they could claim to have grown. Thus, the "what" of these pamphlets points toward the enduring materiality of the Reformation, despite the movement's claims to dematerialize the fleshy excesses of the Roman Church. But the "how" of these works shows a second impulse eager to link present practices to past precedent, and thereby anchor the Reformation in established custom and history.

In "Reconversion Tales: How to Make Sense of Lapses in Faith," George Hoffmann examines the case of Hugues Sureau du Rosier, a Catholic turned Protestant who became a Protestant turned Catholic before returning once again to the reformed faith. Such cases of "serial conversion" expose stress lines in the early modern period's efforts to consolidate stable confessional identities. Du Rosier himself, however, managed to reconcile his apostasy through identifying with the figure of Peter, both a lapsed apostle who denied Christ and the stable "rock" upon whom the Church erected itself. Peter's succession in fact constituted the primary justification for Du Rosier's lingering attraction to Catholicism. Inventive reading practices of the Bible like this one reveal how *sola scriptura* could diversify the kinds of stories early moderns told about themselves. The providential micro-history Du Rosier constructed for himself participates in a broader Reformation tension between conflicting claims of succession and substitution—this is, on the one hand, a claim of continuity with apostolic doctrine, and, on the other, a claim of rupture with the medieval traditions embodied in the Roman Church. The continuity that the Reformation asserted, Hoffmann concludes, depended upon identificational reading practices, such as those of Du Rosier.

Although numerous early modern actors aspired to find or build a "New Jerusalem," the historian of the first-century Jewish revolt against Rome, Josephus, furnishes Agrippa d'Aubigné with a starkly negative portrait of the city that helps the French writer paint Leaguer Paris as a darkly partisan capital. Stephen Murphy's "Aubigné, Josephus, and Useful Betrayal" details numerous other parallels between the ancient soldier-historian and the Reformation soldier-poet as each countenances instances of extremism among compatriots and forms compacts with the enemy in order to survive. What interests Murphy most, however, is how in both cases betrayal seems to enable or trigger subsequent writing; and not necessarily in the name of mere self-justification. Josephus's defection signals his rebirth as a Roman historian, while Aubigné's three years spent at the Catholic court are bracketed by two near-death experiences in which he experiences visions that will form the basis of his epic, *Les Tragiques.* True, Josephus's conversion remains permanent, while Aubigné's lapse proves temporary—ever after ruefully regretted or shamefully silenced.

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But both authors' need to relate the originating point of their literary creations to moments of betrayal suggests a fundamental connection between defection from a prior, life-defining allegiance and the refashioning of the real that literature performs. Despite the many ways in which one might construe a tension between acting and writing, Murphy intimates that in order to write, these writers needed to act, and act darkly.

Corinne Noirot's "'The Difficulty Is to Judge Well': Jean de la Taille, Deceptive Astrologer" (*Le Blason des pierres précieuses* and *La Géomance abrégée*, 1574) finds an unexpected analogue to Montaigne's practice of self-regulation through interpretation in La Taille's two works on divination, which receive careful scrutiny and insightful explication. Noirot entices from inauspicious material a therapeutic use of interpretation that substitutes for divination proper, or what she aptly terms "palliative play." She remarks upon "a humorous oxymoron, since the notions of free will and astrological determinism unambiguously clash with one another"; the same could also be said of Montaigne's invocation of "I know not what inexplicable and fateful force that was the mediator of this union" to celebrate the "liberté volontaire" of his friendship with La Boétie.

On Montaigne

In "Montaigne, Monsters, and Modernity," Kathleen Long evokes the long history of erudite responses to perceived "monstrosity" spanning from the early modern fascination with the prodigious to the vexed modern category of disability. Early modern exponents like Montaigne, Long argues, proved paradoxically more ready to conceive the anomalous as differently enabled rather than *dis*abled. Building upon her distinguished body of work on hermaphrodites and early modern gender, she examines Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's schematizing attempts to account for hermaphroditic gender variation, comparing these with Georges Canguilhem's critiques of the normal in a way that makes Canguilhem seem almost to be a modern avatar of Montaigne. This ambitious essay attempts to bridge the modern/pre-modern divide in a way that makes the pre-modern speak to today's preoccupations. To pursue the kinds of productive anachronism this essay invites, the move here from the epistemological consequences of diversity (skepticism) to autism in the final pages invites one to consider whether Montaigne in some ways might stand as an "autistic" thinker with respect to his time.

Cara Welch's "Montaigne's Response to the Alcibiades Question" raises a question crucial to Montaigne's project: What is the individual's place in

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history? Alcibiades's infamous character flaws make him a perfect case study for precisely the way in which Montaigne chooses to pursue this question: not how the individual can triumph over greater historical forces, but how individuals' shortcomings, unbeknownst to them, can determine the course of events. An elegant contextualization of Alcibiades's profile in the Renaissance leads to a detailed study of the three occasions on which Montaigne discusses the figure.

On the Sciences and Knowledge Networks

In "France's Mid-Sixteenth-Century Imperial Gaze on Canada: The Dieppe School of Hydrography, the Kingdom of Saguenay, and the *Mise en scène* of Possession," Scott D. Juall treats a series of lavish maps from the Dieppe School not as instruments of imperial expansion so much as a fantasy of what a North American French empire might entail. Sometimes these maps even served as substitutes for those ambitions. This essay carefully takes the reader through the prominent features of each map, relating their elements to the specific political circumstances (or *conjoncture*) that held during the time of each map's creation. As an ensemble they provide a coherent and surprisingly rich visual narration of France's first, failed imperial effort. More than that, they also seem to inform the way in which the country's later efforts in Brazil and then, again, in Canada unfolded.

Pascale Barthe focuses on one well-known figure from Guillaume Rondelet's study of sea creatures in order to trace a growing awareness of the natural sciences as a collective endeavor and the widespread practice of them as such. "Guillaume Rondelet's Monkfish, or Natural History as Social Network" rebuts attempts to exaggerate an individualistic, scientific tenor of Renaissance natural histories, in favor of their fully social nature. For Barthe, instead of the "laboratory," the salon or social circle constituted the archetypal space for natural investigation. A graceful close reading of the image and text, juxtaposed with its homologues from among other naturalists, opens onto this thesis of natural history as a social undertaking. The essay then turns to Marguerite de Navarre as the likely patron in this instance; it highlights the importance of "weak ties" or "short-term clientage relationships" as underwriting the work of scholars like Rondelet. Alongside the patron, however, Barthe also reminds us of the fishermen, cooks, and doctors who all assisted in Rondelet's efforts. This work of scholarly archeology aims to uncover the dense network of relations that underpins natural history and that, so often, disappears from view today.

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Karen Simroth James's "Making the Stones Speak: The Curious Observations of Gabriele Simeoni" artfully places Simeoni and his unclassifiable antiquarian travel account within a network of scholars and collectors, pan-European in reach but, in the present instance, centered in Lyon around the publishing activities of Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Rouillé. Hardly content to document historic monuments, Simeoni's imaginative and capacious work associates them with fictional ones and verse both ancient and contemporary. James argues that this creative, prospective approach to travel writing and antiquarianism suggests how classical Rome remained a virtual matrix realizable in the present, however much humanists had sharpened their sense of historical distance from antiquity. Simeoni therefore depicts a French landscape as fanciful as those found in Ovid, in which a profound metamorphosis was transforming Renaissance France. In the courts of Fontainebleau and the Louvre, the chateaux of Anet and Oiron, and the books of Scève and Martin, the past was changing into something strange and new, a process that Simeoni saw himself as actively furthering.

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On Mary B. McKinley

Mary McKinley's critical work has drawn upon a remarkably broad range of approaches, from intertextuality to spatial studies, social history to iconology, reformation history to classical studies, and religious history to gender studies. This ecumenism is well reflected in her numerous doctoral students who illustrate a similarly expansive spectrum of styles, methods, and sensibilities, covering topics that extend from pamphlet literature to *ébénisterie*, New World narrative to women writers, and rhetoric to memory studies. The writers that moved from the rooms of her seminars onto the pages of students' dissertations are manifold: Plato, Desiderius Erasmus, François Rabelais, Jeanne Flore, Clément Marot, Madeleine and Catherine Des Roches, Pierre de Ronsard, Pernette du Guillet, Bonaventure des Périers, Marguerite de Navarre, and, of course, Michel de Montaigne. Her legendary patience with her students, and her pride in them, made her a prominent mentor in the field of sixteenth-century French studies, one whom many sought out during the four decades she spent teaching at the University of Virginia.

After obtaining a master's degree in French from Wisconsin, Mary pursued doctoral work at Rutgers University, during which time she studied under Donald Frame. After earning her doctorate in 1974 with Jack Undank, she immediately began teaching at the University of Virginia, and in 1980 she became the first woman to earn tenure in the department of French. The year following, her first study on Montaigne appeared, which distinguished her as one of the major scholars on one of the Renaissance's most influential authors. Her studies on various essays such as "Of vanity," "Apology for Raymond Sebond," and "On some verses of Virgil" continue to stand as reference points in the field.

As every student of Montaigne knows, Pierre Villey shaped Montaigne's twentieth-century reception as a paragon of the modern critical reader. Using an "evolutionary" approach, Villey portrayed Montaigne moving from passively collecting materials in his earliest essays to actively repurposing them in his later writing. The move toward deconstructive readings in the 1970s and 1980s challenged popular views of the *Essays* as straightforwardly transmitting humanistic values. But they left intact Villey's picture of their sources, composition, and development. Mary's path-breaking *Words in a Corner* quietly returned to these seemingly out-of-fashion questions in order to trouble Villey's neat one-to-one correspondences between classical source and Montaigne's borrowing. At a time when Montaigne's intense engagement with antiquity

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risked disappearing from the pages of criticism, her work led a new generation to appreciate the deeply inventive and unexpected ways Montaigne interacts with the authors he quoted, referenced, or silently adapted.

In her second study on Montaigne, in 1996, *Les Terrains vagues des* Essais: *Itinéraires et intertextes*, Mary shifted to Montaigne's relationship with modern authors (one of the oversights of Villey, who privileged classical sources). Primarily, however, she now sought to emphasize oblique connections within the *Essays* themselves, tracing images that run beneath the surface of the book's seemingly random succession of topics but which nevertheless lend chapters a natural and striking cohesiveness. Beginning by linking the appearance of wild landscapes in the background of Renaissance paintings and prints to Montaigne's stated predilection for undomesticated terrains, the book develops a geography of the work's mental space in which vacant spaces and labyrinths combine to form an imaginary topography that locates Montaigne's wanderings between topics and shapes them into a cohesive intellectual itinerary. Her work explored the spatial poetics of the *Essays*, but it also made the most convincing argument to date for Montaigne's hidden poetic aspirations, as discernible in the deeply coherent aesthetic dimension of his prose.

It would be safe to say that the modern renaissance of scholarly work on Marguerite de Navarre began with the 1993 volume Mary co-edited with John Lyons, *Critical Tales*, a collection that inspired a groundswell of serious new work on one of the great Renaissance writers, and a study that still serves as a fixture in the field. More recently, Mary co-edited with Gary Ferguson the 2013 *Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, a volume that demonstrates the fruit of *Critical Tales* and intersects with a number of the questions Mary herself explored regarding Marguerite's religious readings and devotional practice. In a series of articles spanning her career since attaining the rank of full professor in 1993, Mary examined the tight interweaving of narrative structure and devotional aims in Marguerite's best-known work, the *Heptaméron*, mirroring how she had previously brought together Montaigne's humanist learning and his poetic sensibility. This strand in her scholarship will culminate in the forthcoming appearance of a new translation of the *Heptaméron* in collaboration with her student Nicolas Russell, thanks to a grant she helped win from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Marguerite interested Mary in the role of women writers, a topic that forms one of the dominant themes of her later work and, indeed, that of a number of her students. One of her signal contributions was to bring back to light an outspoken women writer in Calvin's Geneva, Marie Dentière. Beginning with a pair of talks in 1995, a series of critical essays from 1997 to 1999, her translation

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and edition in 2004, and various subsequent reference pieces, Mary returned Dentière to her place in the Reformation firmament. Given Mary's prominent role in Montaigne studies, it came as no surprise that she participated as well in reviving the fortunes of Montaigne's close friend and instrumental posthumous editor, Marie de Gournay, through a trio of studies appearing in 1995–96.

Finally, this all-too-brief overview would not be complete without signaling Mary's crucial role in bringing scholarly attention to the Gordon collection of French Renaissance imprints that first arrived at the University of Virginia Library in 1986. Her regular visits with classes and the introduction of this trove of rare books to visiting scholars brought dozens of researchers to this exemplary collection and inspired a wide array of scholarly work. With her former student and colleague Karen James, Mary further publicized the importance of this collection through the Gordon digital collection, *The Renaissance in Print*, one of the key sites for French Renaissance scholars, thanks to generous grants from the Florence Gould Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities, and support from the University of Virginia Library.

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Rondeau pour Marie

A Saint Jean suis venu dolent,
Endeuillé, chagrin et plorant,
Regrettant le départ de celle,
De toutes âmes la plus belle !
Me pourmène ainsi lamentant.

Tout ce beau monde renaissant
Va maintenant dépérissant,
Va-t-il donc perdurer sans elle,
A Saint Jean ?

Mais fy de tristesse ! En riant,
En buvant et en festoyant,
Nous, qu'elle a tous pris sous son aile,
Gaudissons d'une joie réelle,
Vive Marie ! nous écriant
A Saint Jean !

A San Juan, ce 26 octobre 2013

•••

En hommage affectueux à notre collègue et amie, Hope Glidden
(1945–2017)

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PART 1

On Telling Tales

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CHAPTER 1

Puns, Exemplarity, and Women's Sexual Agency: Nomerfide and Oisille, *Heptaméron* 5 and 6

Gary Ferguson

The representation of women's sexual agency in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* (1559) has understandably been of interest to critics in recent decades, particularly those working within a feminist framework. The present contribution to this ongoing discussion was sparked by an exchange of ideas with Mary McKinley in the context of editing together the Brill *Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*.[1] The issue in question was whether female sexual agency—women acting on or expressing sexual desire—was inevitably portrayed in the collection of tales in a negative light, whether it was always, explicitly or implicitly, subject to censure. Taking the work as a whole, this is certainly the predominant impression the reader comes away with. Of course, as readers, we are not required to adopt the same ideological/moral lens as the storytellers or *devisants* themselves. As Hope Glidden argued in an important article in *Critical Tales* (the landmark volume edited by Mary McKinley and John Lyons in 1993), we can read characters like the sexually active and dissimulating Jambicque in *nouvelle* 43 otherwise, "not as a hypocrite, but as a resistant subject."[2] Nonetheless, a number of critics, including myself, have also noted that female chastity is often figured in the *Heptaméron* as a form of resistance to male violence and a more or less deceitful rhetoric of seduction.[3] Thus, to seek to identify a feminist or pro-woman position in the masculinist discourse of Hircan, Saffredent, and Simontault on the grounds that this

1 Gary Ferguson and Mary B. McKinley, eds., *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

2 Hope Glidden, "Gender, Essence, and the Feminine (*Heptameron* 43)," in *Critical Tales: New Studies of the* Heptameron *and Early Modern Culture*, eds. John D. Lyons and Mary B. McKinley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 32.

3 Gary Ferguson, "Gendered Oppositions in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*: The Rhetoric of Seduction and Resistance in Narrative and Society," in *Renaissance Women Writers: French Texts/American Contexts*, eds. Anne R. Larsen and Colette H. Winn (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994), 143–59, and "Désagrégations: Des 'mauvais déboires' de l'amour à l'h/Histoire au féminin," in L'Heptaméron *de Marguerite de Navarre* (*II*), ed. Chantal Liaroutzos, Cahiers *textuel* 29 (Paris: Publications universitaires Denis-Diderot, 2006), 45–57.

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encourages women's engagement in sexual activity—as does, for example, Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani—remains, to my mind, problematic.[4] For similar reasons, I find it unconvincing to read the *Comptes amoureux de Jeanne Flore* ([1542?]) as a straightforwardly feminist text.[5] What this view overlooks is that the situations of men and women in sixteenth-century society were not the same; the rules of the game were not equal for both.

Is there nowhere, then, in the *Heptaméron* where we might locate a female affirmation of women's sexuality? In order to try to do so, I propose to look again at the first day of storytelling and at a particularly significant moment in the middle of that day: the articulation between tales 5 and 6. The importance of the sequence of stories and discussions at this point in relation to the rhetoric of exemplarity associated with the *querelle des femmes* ("la guerre des sexes") or with other anti-woman literature was noted some years ago by Gérard Defaux.[6] To summarize rather crudely, the first four tales present a series of examples and counter-examples of female behavior, in which men largely criticize or seek to seduce women, while women respond with notable stories of female chastity. Thus, the wicked wife of the *procureur* Saint-Aignan, described by Simontault in *nouvelle* 1, is opposed by Oisille's mule-keeper's wife from Amboise, a "martire de chasteté" ["martyr of chastity"] in *nouvelle* 2.[7] Saffredent's Queen of Naples in story 3, who betrays her husband in order to avenge his prior marital infidelity, and whom the narrator encourages the women present to imitate, is followed, in tale 4, by Ennasuite's virtuous

4 See Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani, "'La guerre des sexes' et la cause des femmes dans *L'Heptaméron*," in Liaroutzos, L'Heptaméron *de Marguerite de Navarre* (*II*), 87–101. See also Mathieu-Castellani's introduction to her edition of the *Heptaméron* (Paris: Livre de Poche Classique, 1999), 31–49.

5 *Les Contes amoureux par Madame Jeanne Flore*, ed. Régine Reynolds-Cornell (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2005). On the probable date of the first edition, published by Denys de Harsy in Lyon, see pp. 10–11. For the debate on the ideology informing the work, see the essays collected in *Actualité Jeanne Flore*, eds. Diane Desrosiers-Bonin and Éliane Viennot, with Régine Reynolds-Cornell (Paris: Champion, 2004).

6 Gérard Defaux, "Marguerite de Navarre et la guerre des sexes: *Heptaméron*, première Journée," *French Forum* 24, 2 (1999), 147–48. While I build on Defaux's argument here, I do not agree with all of his conclusions or the ways in which he presents certain aspects of the material.

7 Marguerite de Navarre, *L'Heptaméron*, ed. Mathieu-Castellani, 107; *The Heptameron*, trans. P. A. Chilton (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 81. All subsequent quotations and translations will be taken from these editions. On the ways in which tale 2 draws on the literary conventions of medieval hagiography, see Mary B. McKinley, "Agony, Ecstasy, and the Mulekeeper's Wife: A Reading of *Heptaméron* 2," in *A French Forum: Mélanges de littérature française offerts à Raymond C. et Virginia A. La Charité*, eds. Gérard Defaux and Jerry Nash (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), 129–42.

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noblewoman from Flanders, who successfully fights off the sexual aggression of a *serviteur*.[8] Tale 5 offers another positive example of female chastity, now demonstrated by a *batelière*, a non-noble ferrywoman, but recounted by a man. Geburon's breaking ranks with the preceding male storytellers is notable in that it undermines the strict dichotomy in which women defend female chastity, and men, according to a conflicted logic, either encourage them to be sexually active or criticize them for being so. It is true, of course, that women had male advocates as well as detractors in the *querelle des femmes*. The more fundamental complication of the *querelle*'s rhetoric of praise and blame occurs with *nouvelle* 6, recounted by Nomerfide, who also plays a central role in the discussion preceding and following it.

For Nomerfide also breaks ranks with her sex, announcing that she will tell of a woman who behaves wickedly. This she does explicitly, however, in order to show that women can be evil *as well as good*, and that "tout ainsy que la vertu de la batteliere ne honnore poinct les aultres femmes si elles ne l'ensuyvent, aussi le vice d'une aultre ne les peut deshonorer" (133) ["just as the ferrywoman's virtue does not redound to the honour of other women unless they actually follow in her footsteps, so the *vice* of one woman does not bring dishonour on all women" (101)]. For the first time, then, Nomerfide calls into question the very value of exemplary stories, since they present nothing more than individual cases that may or may not be followed by other individual women—or men. The tale Nomerfide tells of a sexually savvy woman, who cuckolds and tricks her aged one-eyed husband, represents a version of a traditional misogynous story in which the woman was either reviled (as in Petrus Alfonsi's twelfth-century *Disciplina clericalis*) or celebrated by other lustful men at the expense of the denigrated cuckold (as in the anonymous Burgundian *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*).[9] At the moment of the deceiving of the husband, however, after his wife has enabled her lover to escape by placing her hand over his good eye, there occurs what David LaGuardia terms an

8 Based on the testimony of Pierre de Brantôme, the protagonists of *nouvelle* 4 are often taken as representing Marguerite herself and the admiral de Bonnivet (cf. *L'Heptaméron*, ed. cit., p. 118). The presumed autobiographical nature of the story is fundamental to the reading proposed by Patricia Francis Cholakian, *Rape and Writing in the* Heptaméron *of Marguerite de Navarre* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), esp. 1–31. For a contrasting reading, see John O'Brien, "Fictions of the Eyewitness," in *Narrative Worlds: Essays on the* Nouvelle *in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century France*, eds. Gary Ferguson and David LaGuardia (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2005), 123–38.

9 Here I draw on the excellent discussion of this *nouvelle* and its antecedents by David LaGuardia, "Exemplarity as Misogyny: Variations on the Tale of the One-Eyed Cuckold," in Ferguson and LaGuardia, *Narrative Worlds*, 139–58.

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"intrusion of 'the real'" (155), since the man recognizes immediately the trick that has been played on him. As LaGuardia comments: "The husband's reaction to his wife's trickery unmasks its factitious nature, since, in the 'real' world, such a maneuver would never go unrecognized" (155). The conclusion drawn by the husband is that no man can compel a woman to virtue. He therefore prays that God will lead his wife to amend her life and leaves her to reflect and—as indeed happens—to repent. Virtue, it appears, must be chosen by an individual, open to the working of divine grace.

Despite the association of *nouvelle* 6 with a misogynous exemplary and literary tradition, then, the modifications it undergoes in Nomerfide's telling remove it from its stereotypically black-and-white context of blame or praise of *all* women—in line with the narrator's initial assertion of the always individual nature of vice and virtue. At the end of her story, moreover, Nomerfide states:

> Par cecy, voyez-vous, mes dames, combien est prompte et subtille une femme à eschapper d'un dangier. Et, si, pour couvrir ung mal, son esprit a promtement trouvé remede, je pense que, pour en eviter ung ou pour faire quelque bien, son esperit seroit encores plus subtil. (135–36)
>
> [So you can see, Ladies, that women can be very cunning when they're in a scrape. And if they're clever enough to cover up something bad, I think they'd be even more ingenious in avoiding bad deeds or in doing good ones. (103)]

On the face of it, this conclusion appears to represent a complete about-turn and to directly contradict the initially stated intention of showing that some women are wicked. More fundamentally, however, it supports the larger point that the particular virtue or vice of one woman brings no honor to or blame upon another. In this way, if there is a return to exemplarity in Nomerfide's concluding remarks, it is a thoroughly paradoxical one: the example of *one* woman's vice might serve to reveal *some* women's virtue.

Reading in a strictly linear fashion from the beginning of the work, this midpoint in the initial series of ten tales thus represents a crucial moment in the economy not only of the first day but of the work as a whole. No less importantly, this point of articulation also involves a shift in the dynamics of the relations between the storytellers, and notably between the women. As we know, the women and the men do not always form two distinct groups in agreement internally and in opposition to each other. But the women do tend to express similar points of view and often take issue with those of their male counterparts, especially the trio Hircan-Saffredent-Simontault. In the

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discussion following *nouvelle* 5, however, significant differences emerge between Nomerfide, one of the younger women, and Oisille, the oldest and most devout of those present. While previous critics have commented on this exchange between the two women, I want to underscore in particular that it is directly linked to the way in which Nomerfide, in narrative terms, strikes out independently immediately afterwards.

At the end of story 5, the discussion turns initially on the boatwoman's humble status, which, according to Geburon, makes her virtue all the more remarkable. The extent of the ferrywoman's merit is called into question, however, by one of the women, Longarine, not on the basis of her lowly social position but on the grounds that most *cordeliers* are not at all attractive. As Patricia Cholakian has argued, the question that Longarine crucially introduces at this point is that of the woman's desire: resisting *unwanted* sexual advances would not be a matter of moral virtue but an act of self-preservation, of self-determination (Cholakian, 63–64). While today such a distinction might seem self-evident, it must be remembered that in the sixteenth century, it challenged a traditionally misogynous view that considered women to be always desirous of sexual attentions, from whatever quarter they might come. In response, Geburon does not recur to this argument, however; rather, he remains with a consideration of social status in order to insist that women unaccustomed to *serviteurs* like those of Longarine might well find a friar desirable; indeed, *cordeliers* might be just as handsome and even more vigorous than noblemen, worn out by the rigors of military exercise: "ilz sont hommes aussy beaulx, aussi fortz et plus reposez que nous autres, qui sommes tous cassez du harnoys" (132) ["They're often just as good-looking as we are, just as well-built and less worn out, because they've not been knocked about in battle" (100)]. The military register introduced here will return and be developed at a later point in the conversation.[10]

Despite Geburon's affirmation that a *cordelier* might indeed be attractive, Nomerfide will have none of it and voices her agreement with Longarine: she would rather have been thrown into the river than have had sex with a friar. At this point, Oisille interjects: "Vous sçavez doncques bien nouer?" (132) ["*So you're a strong swimmer, are you then!*" (101)]. To suggest that Nomerfide would only allow herself to be thrown into the river to escape the friars because she

10 For a discussion of this expression and the defensive rhetoric of which it forms part, examined in relation to early modern models of masculinity, see Jeffery C. Persels, "'Qui sommes tous cassez du harnoys' or, the *Heptaméron* and Uses of the Male Body," in *Heroic Virtue, Comic Infidelity: Reassessing Marguerite de Navarre's* Heptaméron, ed. Dora E. Polachek (Amherst, MA: Hestia Press, 1993), 90–102.

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is an expert swimmer—in other words, that she would be risking little and certainly not her life—is clearly to imply that her commitment to chastity or to resisting sexual advances is less than vigorous. Oisille's remark is more freighted yet, however, for remaining afloat in water or not, drowning, were associated metaphorically with sexual passion. We need only recall Louise Labé's famous line "je me brule et me noye" ["I burn and drown"]; Ronsard wrote in similar terms: "je me noye, et me brusle moymesme" ["I drown and burn myself"].[11] A number of different semes are in play in this nexus, however. Etymologically, *noyer*, coming from the Latin *necare*, *to kill*—whence *se noyer*—is unrelated to water. *Nouer* in Middle French, said to derive from the unattested Vulgar Latin form *notare* for *natare*, and which today has disappeared, was a synonym of *nager* (< Latin *navigare*), *to swim*.[12] Although it represents a departure from all of the principal extant manuscripts, the first printed editions of the *Heptaméron*—those of Boaistuau in 1558 and of Gruget in 1559 (both of which, especially the former, are marked by editorial modifications)—in fact give *nager* in place of *nouer*.[13] The latter reading seems distinctly preferable, however, in that it also had an explicitly sexual sense, signifying to copulate or to have carnal relations. In this acceptation, *nouer*, meaning principally *to knot* (a meaning it retains in present-day French), derives from the Latin *nodare* or *nodere*. Its sexual meaning emerges through the semantic constellation of tying, linking, uniting, coupling. It is this frankly sexual meaning that Oisille mobilizes through her pun on the two different but homophonic verbs *nouer*. As I have argued elsewhere, knots are, in addition, a recurrent leitmotif associated with the *cordeliers* in the *Heptaméron*, serving to underscore the gulf separating the religious vows that the friars take (symbolized by the knots in their rope belt) and the reality of their conduct—in this instance, the knotting of lustful sexual coupling and their vow of chastity.[14] The friars' hypocrisy

11 Louise Labé, sonnet VIII, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. François Rigolot (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1986), 125; Pierre de Ronsard, sonnet 1, Book 2 of "Sonnets pour Hélène," *Œuvres complètes*, eds. Paul Laumonier, Isidore Silver, and Raymond Lebègue, 20 vols. (Paris: Société des Textes Français Modernes, 1914–75), 17:248.

12 See Algirdas Julien Greimas and Teresa Mary Keane, *Dictionnaire du moyen français* (Paris: Larousse, 1992); *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1992); Giuseppe Di Stefano, *Dictionnaire des locutions en moyen français* (Montréal: CERES, 1991).

13 See Marguerite de Navarre, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Nicole Cazauran, vol. 10, *L'Heptaméron*, eds. Nicole Cazauran and Sylvie Lefèvre, 3 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2013), 1:69.

14 See the articles: "Mal de vivre, mal croire: L'Anticléricalisme de l'*Heptaméron* de Marguerite de Navarre," *Seizième Siècle* 6 (2010), 151–63; "Péchés capitaux et 'vices italiens': L'Avarice et ses complices dans l'*Heptaméron* de Marguerite de Navarre," *Seizième Siècle* 4

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appears all the more flagrant in light of the prescriptions and proscriptions of Catholic moral theology that they manipulate to control the sexual activities of those of both sexes, but especially of women.[15]

Nomerfide reacts with a certain amount of indignation to Oisille's pun and its pointed teasing, considering that it reveals on the part of the older woman a lack of the respect (*estime*) she would like from her. A moment of anger (*colere*), indeed, moves her to defend herself in terms she might otherwise not have used: "Il y en a qui ont refusé des personnes plus agreables que ung Cordelier, et n'en ont poinct faict sonner la trompette" (132) ["There *are* plenty of people who've refused better men than friars, without blowing their trumpets about it" (101)]. This is a delicate point in the *devisants's* exchange as Nomerfide, poised between self-control and its loss, speaks under the impulse of one passion of another passion, but does so, like Oisille, indirectly and allusively. Expressing herself in the third person, but clearly referring to her own situation, Nomerfide reintroduces the question that she and Longarine had identified as fundamental in judging the virtue of the boatwoman, and of women who resist male sexual advances in general: that of female desire, a woman's finding a man attractive or not. She also returns to a metaphorical vocabulary (*sonner la trompette*), activating auditory and military semes as well as the idea of a town crier, in order to affirm that she—or the women she has in mind—did not, on account of her refusal of admirers, make herself into a public example. Oisille's rejoinder comes swiftly: "Encores moins ont-elles fait sonner le tabourin de ce qu'elles ont faict et accordé" (132) ["Yes, and they've been even more careful not to beat their drums about ones they've accepted and given in to!" (101)]. Picking up on the musical and military metaphors, Oisille exploits the same vocabulary as Nomerfide, but again—as earlier with *nouer*—introducing an expression that also has strong sexual connotations (beating the drum). Geburon, the most moderate of the men, who had told tale 5, intervenes at this point to designate Nomerfide the narrator of the next story, "affin qu'elle descharge son cueur sur quelque bonne Nouvelle" (133) ["in order that she may unburden herself by telling us a good story" (101)].

Here is another delicate and complex moment. The verb *décharger* conveys principally the idea of unburdening or evacuation, but might again have a military sense in relation to the discharging of a firearm. As such, it puts Nomerfide in the company of other sexually active and "virile" women, such

(2008), 73–87; "All in Knots: Teaching the *Heptameron* with *Les Prisons*," in *Approaches to Teaching Marguerite de Navarre's* Heptameron, ed. Colette H. Winn (New York: MLA Publications, 2007), 135–40.

15 See, for example, *nouvelle* 23. Cf. Cholakian, *Rape and Writing*, 163.

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as the duchess in *nouvelle* 70 (Oisille's retelling of the story of the châteleine de Vergi), who, when ignored by the man she wishes to seduce, "print le cueur d'un homme transporté pour descharger le feu qui estoit importable" (658–59) ["with the reckless courage of [a man beside himself], … sought to quench the unbearable flames within her" (513, modified)]. More broadly, however, Geburon points to the potentially therapeutic function of storytelling, its serving as a vehicle for the release of pent-up emotion. In suggesting that what Nomerfide has expressed so far may not be sufficient to restore equilibrium, Geburon signals the possibility of the narrators' personal investment in some of the tales they tell, the possibility of the stories' autobiographical or self-revelatory character. In response, Nomerfide denies being concerned in any way by the exchange with Oisille; nevertheless, she goes on to tell *nouvelle* 6, which, in the ways we have observed, serves to complicate radically, even to challenge fundamentally, the value of exemplarity, particularly in relation to female (sexual) conduct. Moreover, the same issue returns in the discussion at the end of the tale, constituted almost entirely of a conversation between Nomerfide and Hircan, the narrator of tale 7. Now, however, the question of narratorial identification is formulated negatively, and Nomerfide responds somewhat differently.

Hircan reacts to tale 6 by suggesting that Nomerfide, *unlike* the crafty woman in her story, would be incapable of covering things up in a similar situation. Nomerfide replies that he must then think her very stupid ("la plus sotte femme du monde" [136]). Denying that this is the case, Hircan nevertheless reveals that he considers her the kind of person likely to make a fuss over something: "je vous estime bien celle qui plus tost s'estonneroit d'un bruict, que finement ne le feroit taire" (136) ["I do think you're the sort of woman who gets worked up over a rumour, instead of thinking of some clever way of putting an end to it" (103)]. To this Nomerfide retorts that Hircan believes everyone to be like himself, covering one rumor, literally noise (*bruict*), with another, piling deception upon deception, one *couverture* atop another, with the risk that the whole edifice will come crashing down. If he thinks that the tricks that everyone believes are typical of him are superior to those of women, she challenges him, let him tell the next story and propose himself as an example. As Nomerfide had denied any personal involvement in her tale—except to the extent that, like her protagonist, she might be "subtille"—so too does Hircan, at least in the presence of his wife, with whom he exchanges a meaningful glance at this point. For her part, however, Parlamente makes it clear that she is well aware of her husband's deceptions, so he should have no fear to tell the truth: "il me sera plus facille de ouyr racompter voz finesses, que de les avoir veu faire devant moy, combien qu'il n'y en ait nulle qui sceut diminuer l'amour

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que je vous porte" (136) ["It will be easier for me to hear about your little games than to have had to watch you playing them under my nose—though nothing you may do could diminish the love I bear you" (104)].

The issue at stake is thus how much the *devisants* and especially the *devisantes* can properly reveal of themselves in relation to their sexual conduct. In present company, Hircan wishes to remain discreet, despite the fact that his infidelities, as Parlamente recognizes, are common knowledge. As we see repeatedly throughout the *Heptaméron*, a woman, like Nomerfide, seldom has the same degree of liberty. Hircan, after recounting tale 7, claims that he would be unconcerned by his wife's adultery if he knew nothing of it: "si celle que vous dictes avoit faict un pareil cas, et que je n'en eusse rien sceu, je ne l'en estimerois pas moins" (139) ["if [the one] you refer to *had* done anything like that, I wouldn't think any the less of [her] for it—provided I knew nothing about it!" (106, modified)]. The proviso expressed by Hircan—that he must remain ignorant of his wife's infidelity—is no small matter. How, then, might a woman speak of her desire? One answer seems to be: indirectly. Nomerfide does so by telling *nouvelle* 6 and in the punning exchanges that constitute the discussion that precedes and follows it. Nomerfide, as swimmer or tier of knots, resists some of her suitors, who, like the *cordeliers* she finds unattractive, are ignored. To others, however, she accords her favors—though in neither instance will the sounding of trumpets or drums give her away. Quite simply, and in line with the emphasis she places on the individual as opposed to the general, Nomerfide *chooses*; situating herself in dialogue between Oisille and Hircan, she is neither lustful nor wholly chaste.

Nomerfide's discreet revelations are drawn out in the first instance by Oisille. If the older woman provokes a degree of indignation in the younger one, this has to do with respecting the codes regarding what can be said and how, in order to preserve reputation and honor. Nomerfide does not want her story published abroad openly; she does not want to find herself in the situation of the carelessly indiscreet female narrator of *nouvelle* 62.[16] If Oisille risks piquing Nomerfide, however, it is paradoxically the pious old lady who introduces the subject of women's sexuality into the group, in a knowing and worldly way. She livens up, even spices up, the conversation, and, by the same token, opens a space for the expression of female desire. Oisille draws Nomerfide into that space, where the younger woman voices her position, assuming her desire, her *story*—her own sexual ethics and the tale she will tell. In so doing, Nomerfide simultaneously plays a crucial role in questioning and redefining the nature

16 On this tale, see François Cornilliat and Ullrich Langer, "Naked Narrator: *Heptameron* 62," in Lyons and McKinley, *Critical Tales*, 123–45.

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of exemplarity, an epistemological project so fundamental, as has often been noted, to the *Heptaméron* as a whole.

In this way, an exchange that initially seemed to signal a fracturing of female solidarity ultimately serves to reinforce community—among the women, and between the women and the men. The devout "mother" of the group is not naïve; she is not unworldly. On the contrary, her wit can be sharp. But she neither berates nor condemns. She laughs. The verb appears twice, introducing both of her punning remarks.[17] Oisille, the pious evangelical, would doubtless not condone unchastity; on the other hand, neither might she consider it to be the worst of all sins, as pernicious, for instance, as pride or lack of charity. At many points, in both Christian and neo-Platonic frames, the *Heptaméron* suggests that love of other humans, including sexual desire, and love of God are not always unrelated or easily separated. The traditional hagiographical figure of Mary Magdalene is a notable example of this.[18] Oisille thus accommodates herself to the world in which she lives and to the group of which she finds herself a part, as the *Heptaméron*'s author must have done at the courts of her brother and second husband. Marguerite, in fact, shows herself in such a position, under the (thin) veil of narrative, in *nouvelle* 25. When the sister of a great prince learns from the prior of a religious house that he considers her brother a model of piety since he is often to be seen praying at night in their chapel, she suspects that something is afoot. For, while her brother might be a god-fearing man, she knows him to be no saint. The truth that the sister elicits from the prince is that the monastery church serves as a discreet and convenient way to enter the house of a married woman with whom he is having an affair, though he always pauses there on his return to pray. In this instance, the laughter recorded is that of the prince, when he hears of the opinion the prior has formed of him.

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17 A number of critics have examined the significance of laughter in Marguerite's prose and poetic works. See, for example, Judith Perrenoud-Wörner, *Rire et sacré: La Vision humoristique de la vérité dans l'*Heptaméron *de Marguerite de Navarre* (Geneva: Droz, 2008); and Antonia Szabari, "The Way of Imperfection: Laughter and Mysticism in Marguerite de Navarre's *L'Heptaméron*," *French Forum* 33, 3 (2008), 1–16. Cf. Cornilliat and Langer, "Naked Narrator."

18 Mary Magdalene appears in the *Heptaméron* as the composite figure of pious tradition, not as the three different women distinguished by Lefèvre d'Étaples. The saint is referred to explicitly by Ennasuite following stories 19 and 32. See François Rigolot, "The *Heptaméron* and the Magdalen Controversy: Dialogue and Humanist Hermeneutics," in Lyons and McKinley, *Critical Tales*, 218–31, and "Magdalen's Skull: Allegory and Iconography in *Heptameron* 32," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, 1 (1994), 57–73.

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Here and elsewhere in the *Heptaméron*, the early exchange between Oisille and Nomerfide also continues to have echoes. Following *nouvelle* 25, Geburon opens the discussion by praising the prince for the care he took to preserve the married woman's honor and to avoid public scandal. Oisille concurs, adding, in a comment with which Nomerfide might well have agreed, "car le scandalle est souvent pire que le peché" (371) ["because often the scandal is worse than the sin itself" (290)]. Nomerfide in fact intervenes to recall the sexual element of the story, suggesting that the prince had good reason to say his prayers. Parlamente—often associated with Marguerite, as Oisille is with Marguerite's mother, Louise de Savoie—reminds them all that they must not judge.

Another notable moment between Nomerfide and Oisille occurs following *nouvelle* 40, which recounts the story of the sister of the comte de Jossebelin. The count has a valued gentleman of his household killed after learning that his sister and the gentleman have secretly married. If Oisille concludes that this example should teach all girls to respect their parents' wishes and not to seek to marry according to their own desires, Nomerfide has a quite different take, focused on pleasure. In a lengthy series of comments she stresses how unusual it is for a woman of high rank to be able to marry the man she loves: "le plaisir n'est pas commung ny accoustumé que une femme de si grande maison espouse ung gentil homme serviteur par amour" (475) ["It isn't any common, ordinary pleasure, when a lady of such high birth marries for love alone a gentleman of her household" (371–72)]. Since death comes to all mortals at one point or another, Nomerfide affirms, the woman was right to act on her desire in order to enjoy honorably a pleasure that was as intense as it was brief: "Si est-ce … que, qui a ung bon jour en l'an, n'est pas toute sa vie malheureuse. Elle eut le plaisir de voir et de parler longuement à celluy qu'elle aymoit plus qu'elle-mesmes; et puis, en eut la joissance par mariage, sans scrupule de conscience" (474) ["But … if one has only *one* good day in the year, one can't say one is miserable for the *whole* of one's life! She *did* have the pleasure of seeing, and being able to speak to, the one person she loved best in the world. What is more she [had full enjoyment/possession of him in] marriage, without having anything on her conscience" (371, modified)].

In the *Comptes amoureux de Jeanne Flore*, the sexually dissident Cebille (in this instance because of her chastity and refusal of erotic attachments) is isolated, ostracized, and punished. Such is not the case in the *Heptaméron*, where none of the *devisants* is excluded. They diverge, sometimes very sharply, on many points, especially concerning relations between the sexes. At the same time, like many of the characters in their stories, they share common ground in that they act within aristocratic codes of honor, even while these impose very different constraints on women from those they impose on men. In this

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context, the possibilities for a woman to express sexual desire and agency without incurring condemnation are severely limited. They are not, however, inexistent. Oisille helps initially to open a space within which Nomerfide speaks allusively, and the younger woman continues to state her ideas less in opposition to the older woman than in dialogue with her. Female sexual agency, if not exactly championed in the *Heptaméron*, is thus accorded a voice and a place. And to the extent that it is integral to the problematizing of the rhetoric of example, it constitutes a driving impulse of one of the work's most fundamental epistemological engagements.

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CHAPTER 2

A Palimpsest of the *Heptaméron*: Eugène Scribe's *Les Contes de la Reine de Navarre ou la Revanche de Pavie*

Cynthia Skenazi

A "nice book for one of its substance," Montaigne says of the *Heptaméron* ("un gentil livre pour son estoffe").[1] For most of us, however, Marguerite de Navarre's collection presents a rather grim portrait of the sinful nature of human beings. Stories of lust, violence, and selfishness invite us to meditate on the gap that separates Nothing from All (the creation from its Creator) and to realize that faith in Christ alone saves and fills the heart with love. Montaigne was not the only reader of his time to speak of the *Heptaméron* so casually. In his *Recueil des dames*, Brantôme notes that "elle fist en ses gayettez ung livre qui s'intitulle: *Les Nouvelles de la reyne de Navarre* […]. Elle composa toutes ses Nouvelles, la pluspart dans sa lityere en allant par pays; car elle avoit de plus grandes occupations, estant retirée" ["in her gay moments, [Marguerite] wrote a book which is entitled *Les Nouvelles de la reine de Navarre.* […]. She composed these tales mostly in her litter; for she had many other great occupations in her retirement."][2] Brantôme hastens to add that: "Je l'ay ouy ainsin conter à ma grand-mere, qui […] comme sa Dame d'honneur, […] luy tenoit l'escritoyre" (183) ["I heard this from my grandmother, who […] as her lady-in-waiting, […] was holding the Queen's writing case"].

To what extent were Marguerite's contemporaries more sensitive than we are to the entertaining aspect of the *Heptaméron*? As Rabelais put it in his dedication of the *Tiers Livre* "To the Spirit of the Queen of Navarre" (published when Marguerite was composing her tales), the queen's mysticism and active devotion did not prevent her from laughing at "the jovial deeds of good

1 Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Works*, trans. Donald Frame (New York: Everyman's Library, Knopf, 2003), 380. *Les Essais*, eds. P. Villey and V.-L. Saulnier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004), 430. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

2 Brantôme, *Recueil des dames, poésies et tombeaux*, ed. Étienne Vaucheret (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 183. All references are to this edition.

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Pantagruel."[3] Indeed, the stories told in the *Heptaméron* are part of a social game. Like any type of playful activity, storytelling gives readers or listeners a form of freedom that they might not experience in real life. Eugène Scribe and his longtime collaborator Ernest Legouvé certainly shared these views. Their comedy *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre ou La Revanche de Pavie* (Paris: Giraud Dagneau, 1850) is of special interest for the history of the reception of the *Heptaméron* in this respect, since it shifts the emphasis of Marguerite's novellas from religious meditation to recreation and pleasure. This play is both a tribute to the Queen of Navarre and an attempt at adapting the *Heptaméron* to the political and social aspirations of the mid-nineteenth-century French bourgeoisie, as we shall see.

Les Contes de la reine de Navarre's first performance took place in October 1850 at the Théâtre-Français in Paris. The play appeared twice in print the same year and reflects the taste for historical dramas at that time. More specifically, it capitalizes on a surge of interest in Marguerite. "The Queen of Navarre, sister of François 1er, has of late years much occupied literary and learned men," Sainte-Beuve observes in his *Causeries du lundi* (published two years later, in 1852). Among the works from the past decade, he singles out the first edition of Marguerite's correspondence, documents included in the first edition of François 1er's poems, and the forthcoming first reliable edition of the *Heptaméron*, prepared by Leroux de Lincy.[4]

The author of nearly four hundred plays, Scribe was the most celebrated writer of French comedies and *vaudevilles* of his time. His works inspired contemporary composers of operas and comic operas (including Verdi, Rossini, and Meyerbeer). *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre* was never set to music, but like a libretto, it owes its existence to the acknowledged transformation of a previous text. Gérard Genette's notions of hypertext, hypotext, and palimpsest provide a helpful way to see this process. For Genette, any text is a hypertext insofar as it rewrites to a certain extent an earlier text (or hypotext). Some texts, however, belong more explicitly to a form of literature in the second degree, for they ask us to reread or remember a prior work. Like a palimpsest that "has been written upon several times, often with remnants of erased writing still

3 François Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. M. Huchon (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 341. On this dedication, see Mary B. McKinley's "Rabelais, Marguerite de Navarre et la dédicace du *Tiers Livre*: Voyages mystiques et missions terrestres," *Romanic Review* 94, 1–2 (2003), 169–84.

4 Charles Sainte-Beuve, "Marguerite de Navarre. Ses Nouvelles publiées par M. Leroux de Lincy," *Causeries du lundi* (Paris: Garnier, 1858), 7:434–35.

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visible," they simultaneously hide and reveal a previous text.[5] Palimpsests can have a wide variety of forms, ranging from parodies and adaptations to complex rewritings of their hypotext. Scribe's palimpsest includes an element of pastiche, for it alludes to Marguerite's stories in the *Heptaméron* and stages some of them; yet the play as a whole is presented as a new tale in progress or in the making, one that Marguerite is simultaneously living, telling, and directing.[6] The queen intended to write one hundred tales, and her unfinished work invited imaginative writers to complete it. But Scribe's break with her narrative strategies reveals his will to avoid any type of slavish imitation. His comedy makes something new out of an old text while reminding us that Marguerite was a playwright, and that she appears as a character in her novellas, along with her brother.

Scribe respects the rules spelled out in the *Heptaméron*'s prologue, even if the storytellers do not always follow them. The play focuses on a true event: Marguerite's peace negotiations with the emperor Charles V to free her brother after the latter's defeat in Pavia in February 1525. This event is firsthand information: it unfolds before our eyes. Scribe knew that Marguerite's political experience had nourished her tales, but in 1525 Marguerite was not working on the *Heptaméron*: critics agree that she started writing her novellas in 1542 or 1545, although she might have written a few tales before then. *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre* omits the contextual frame of the *Heptaméron*—the flood gathering the five male and five female protagonists at Notre-Dame-de-Sarrance, their decision to spend part of their days telling each other stories while waiting for the repair of the bridge, and their reactions after each novella. Yet like storytelling, theater is an oral genre that invites its audience's comments. If the war of the sexes is the focus of many of Marguerite's stories, love is the driving force of Scribe's comedy.

The action of this play takes place in Charles V's palace in Madrid. The emperor is about to marry Isabelle of Portugal for political reasons but is in love with Marguerite, who has just arrived at his court to negotiate her brother's freedom. Henri d'Albret is also in love with her. He has escaped from his prison in Pavia to follow the king but has not seen him yet. Charles's sister, Eléonore, is secretly in love with François, but the emperor expects her to marry the Connétable de Bourbon, who betrayed François and contributed to the victory of the imperial troops. She is determined to take religious vows instead.

5 Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), ix and 5–7.

6 Novella 6 is staged in 4.2; novella 2 is mentioned in 4.14. References are to act and scene. See below for references to novellas 9 and 62.

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Meanwhile, Charles's chancellor, Guatinara, is the lover of his master's bride and uses her to satisfy his lust for power. In reality, he loves Sanchette, whom he has married off to Babieça, the emperor's messenger. So far, he has taken advantage of Babieça's frequent absences, but Sanchette has fallen in love with Henri at first sight. A charming and devoted sister, Marguerite seduces the court, and she outwits the emperor to win François's freedom. While distracting Charles with the story of her new tale, she arranges a secret marriage between François and Eléonore in the emperor's personal chapel. This union seals the peace between the two countries. The emperor has no choice but to admire Marguerite's diplomatic skills. Since he cannot win her heart, he agrees to return the territories that belonged to the Albret family. Thanks to this gift, Henri will be crowned king of Navarre and therefore be qualified to marry the king of France's sister. In this respect, *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre* is indeed an *Histoire des amans fortunez*, to borrow the title of the *Heptaméron*'s first edition by Pierre Boiastuau (1558), reedited in 1841. Guatinara and Babieça, for their part, do not have much reason to rejoice. By the end of the play, the former has lost Isabelle's confidence and any hope of fulfilling his political ambition, whereas the latter will remain a naïve husband manipulated by his wife. Finally, the forthcoming wedding of Charles and Isabelle will probably not be happy, but thanks to Marguerite, Isabelle has become more assertive and less likely to be dominated.

As in many plays by Scribe, the plot is made of attempts to overcome a series of obstacles and centers on a single character whose actions affect the fates of the other protagonists.[7] Approaching the aftermath of the defeat of Pavia with some freedom, Scribe brings into the open the love secrets of princes and the wicked deeds of a chancellor, while infusing a brilliancy into their verbal exchanges. Yet despite their comedic turn, the dialogue gives a fair idea of François's captivity. Scribe had read some recent studies on this period, along with the new edition of Marguerite's letters, edited by François Genin in 1841–42. When Marguerite arrived in Madrid on the eve of September 18, 1525, François was in critical condition, melancholic and anorexic, suffering from a nose abscess. French eyewitnesses credited his sister with having saved his life. In Scribe's play, she forces François to eat and drink, cheering him up by reminding him of their mother's devotion to him and of his female admirers. Scribe omits Marguerite's prayers on behalf of her brother and the religious ceremonies held for his recovery, but he knew that François used to call his sister "Mignonne." He also alludes to the king's famous remark in a

7 See Douglas Cardwell, "The Well-Made Play of Eugène Scribe," *The French Review* 56, 6 (1983), 876–84.

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letter to his mother written after his defeat in Pavia: "[…] de toutes choses ne m'est demeuré que l'honneur et la vie qui est saulve" ["All that is "left to me is my honor and my life which is safe"], quoted in François-Aimé Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité du roi François Ier*, published three years before the *Contes de la reine de Navarre*, and one of Scribe's key source texts.[8] François's austere jail, on the other hand, strikes a melodramatic note, yet Scribe reproduces a description by Saint-Simon that appears in one of Champollion-Figeac's footnotes (231 n. 1). He also reports accurately Charles's conditions for releasing François (2.9), while recalling that Burgundy was at the center of the negotiations (Champollion-Figeac, 363–66). Although Marguerite did not mastermind François's and Eléonore's wedding, Louise de Savoie and François had suggested this alliance right after the battle of Pavia, and this matter was on Marguerite's agenda in Spain (Champollion-Figeac, 359–63).

Even when he lays a foundation of fact, however, Scribe represents history *sub specie ludi*. The intricate love affairs give a dynamic rhythm to the play; likewise, the grotesque character of Babieça (whose name recalls that of El Cid's horse, and suits a messenger) comes from a comedic repertoire. Eléonore's secret passion for François adds a romantic touch to the action; Charles's love for Marguerite is also sheer fiction, although Louise de Savoie had raised the possibility of a wedding between the two for political reasons in June 1525.[9] Further distortions of historical fact include the omission of people who were instrumental in the peace negotiations (such as Montmorency), and of the three hundred members of Marguerite's escort. Moreover, the presence of Henri d'Albret in Spain and Charles's gift to him of the Spanish part of Navarre are also Scribe's inventions. Henri may have been in love with Marguerite (even if their wedding was a political alliance), but he later treated her so badly that François had to intervene. In *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre*, however, Henri expresses his passion for Marguerite by referring to the gentleman of the *Heptaméron*'s novella 9 who was "better endowed with virtue, good looks and good breeding than he was with material possessions." Like this gentleman of

8 See François-Aimé Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité du roi François Ier* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1847), 129.

9 Marguerite's letters confirm that the emperor had been extremely courteous during her stay in Spain. Scribe may have fantasized on some of her remarks: in a letter to her brother, she writes that the emperor wanted to speak to her alone, in her apartment, and that one of her maidens was guarding the door. In another letter, she tells her brother that when she was about to leave Spain, Charles was so gracious to her that she thought that he wanted her to stay. See Pierre Jourda, *Répertoire de la correspondance de Marguerite d'Angoulême, duchesse d'Alençon, reine de Navarre (1492–1549)* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1973), letters 260, 272.

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"such lowly station," Henri "could never hope to marry her [beloved], yet his love for her was so deep and so perfect that he would rather have died than wish anything to her dishonor." His beloved became aware of his devotion and knew that it was "a noble love, full of goodness and virtuous intent."[10] In contrast to Scribe's character whose loyalty is rewarded, the protagonist of novella 9 dies of unfulfilled love in the arms of his lady.

Along with Henri, the other French characters in the play follow a stereotyped code of courage, honor, and loyalty. François, in particular, inspires love and respect; throughout the play, he rejects any action that would tarnish his image. If his captivity strikes a romantic note, it does not affect his reputation—quite the contrary. Any Parisian theater lover would have noticed the difference between Scribe's portrait of this chivalric king and Victor Hugo's *Le Roi s'amuse* (1832). By showing François as a criminal obsessed with sensual pleasures and despising virtue, Hugo intended to arouse indignation against political and social injustice in general, including abuses in his own time. Scribe was more faithful to historical facts by stressing François's love for France. His play refers to the king's letter of abdication in favor of his elder son, to prevent Charles from imposing peace conditions unacceptable to France.[11] The emphasis on a ruler's selfless patriotism was especially relevant in the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution. Scribe was not involved in politics like Hugo was, but his portrait of the emperor's moderation, fairness, and will to take into account Marguerite's advice provided a salutary diversion from Louis-Bonaparte's political ambitions. A few months after the first performance of *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre*, Louis-Bonaparte's coup d'état suppressed the Republic in favor of the Second Empire, and France's constitutional government disappeared. Hugo went into exile, and the imperial censorship banned his dramas written before 1851. Scribe's light comedy did not risk such treatment, even if it criticized corrupt politicians, such as Guatinara, and pleaded for justice and peace.

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10 Marguerite of Navarre, *The Heptameron*, trans. P. A. Chilton (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 115. All translations come from this edition.

11 The king's letter of abdication is reproduced in Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité*, 416–25. According to Champollion-Figeac, Montmorency carried it to Paris, but the Parlement never registered it. According to Jean-Marie Le Gall, the king gave the letter to his sister. *L'Honneur perdu de François Ier. Pavie, 1525* (Paris: Payot, 2015), 301. In Scribe's play, the king gives this document to his sister and asks her to send it to Paris. Scribe could have found this information in Henri-Gabriel Gaillard, *Histoire de François Ier, roi de France* (Paris: Blaise, 1819), 2:200.

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Hugo's dramas (including *Le Roi s'amuse*) often treat family relations, but they never address the question of sororal love. Scribe had carefully read Brantôme's *Recueil des dames* (reedited in 1838 and 1848) in this respect. Brantôme dwells on Marguerite's passion for her brother, especially during her diplomatic mission in Spain in 1525:

> elle parla à l'Empereur si bravement, et si honnestement aussy, sur le mauvais traittement qu'il faisoit au Roy son frere, qu'il en fut tout estonné, luy remontrant son ingrattitude et fellonnie dont il usoit […] elle en dist encor pis à ceux de son Conseil […]. Enfin elle fit tant que ses raisons furent trouvées bonnes et pertinentes, et demeura en grand' estime de l'Empereur, de son Conseil et de sa Court…. (180)
>
> [she spoke to the Emperor so bravely and so honestly also about how badly he treated the King, her brother, that he was quite amazed; and she reproached him for his ingratitude and wrongdoing […]. She spoke still more strongly to his Council. […]. In short, she did so well that her reasons were thought good and pertinent, and she was held in great esteem by the Emperor, his Council, and the Court….]

In a letter to Montmorency written shortly before going to Spain, Marguerite said that since her sex did not allow her to serve her brother on the battlefield, she wanted to help him by means of her diplomatic skills.[12] She knew well how "to entertain and satisfy [ambassadors] with fine discourse," Brantôme observes: "elle les sçavoit fort bien entretenir et contenter de beaux discours" (179). Echoing these remarks, Scribe's character Guatinara tells Charles that Marguerite "has bewitched" all his courtiers: "Elle les a tous ensorcelés" (1.2, 12). Throughout the play, she is, in Brantôme's words, "kind, gentle, gracious, charitable […], and disdaining no one" ["très-bonne, douce, gratieuse, charitable […], et ne desdaignant personne" (181)]. Scribe goes even further, and the way poet Clément Marot characterized Marguerite—"a female body, a man's heart and an angel's head"—would apply equally well to Scribe's portrait.[13]

In reality, despite her diplomatic skills, wit, and charm, Marguerite had no impact on the peace negotiations in Spain. A remark made by the real chancellor Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara at the summit in Toledo summed it

12 François Genin, *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême, sœur de François Ier, reine de Navarre* (Paris: Renouard, 1841–42), 1:176.

13 "Corps femenin, cueur d'homme et teste d'Ange." Clément Marot, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. G. Defaux (Paris: Bordas, 1993), 2:205.

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up: "The arrival of Madam the Duchess is frustrating and of no profit" ["La venue de Madame la duchesse est frustratoire et de nul profict" (Champollion-Figeac, 277)]. In her letters, Marguerite stresses the emperor's stubbornness and bad faith; she complains about the Spanish advisors' hypocrisy and lack of honesty.[14] Altering the facts, Scribe's play presents her as an exceptionally enlightened leader. Ironically, the king of France's sister realizes in the royal sphere, and without bloodshed, the bourgeois ideals of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* that overthrew the French monarchy in 1789: she wins François's *freedom*, and defends gender *equality* (a point to which I shall return shortly). She also advocates *friendship* among rulers and members of their court, while advising the emperor to embark on a crusade against the infidels rather than to make war on a Catholic monarch.

Interestingly, *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre* hardly alludes to religion, although Scribe could not possibly have ignored the queen's deep devotion. While in Spain, Marguerite said to Montmorency that only God's grace would free the king: "La grace seule que Dieu vous a donnée est suffisante pour vous tirer du Purgatoire d'Espagne" (*Lettres*, vol. 2, 48). In Scribe's play, Eléonore briefly says that she has heard that Marguerite is not a good Catholic, because she protects the Protestants. Shifting the discussion away from orthodoxy, Marguerite replies that she is on the side of the oppressed (1.8, 21). If religious tensions did not strike a familiar note for the Parisian audience of the 1850s, female oppression certainly did. A few years after the play's first performance, Scribe's collaborator, Ernest Legouvé, became an active proponent of women's rights. Some tales (such as novella 21) of the *Heptaméron* stress a woman's freedom of expression, but this question is not the central issue of Marguerite's collection as a whole. In contrast, in *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre*, women's action in the public sphere gives a feminist meaning to the claim of Marguerite's storytellers in the prologue of the *Heptaméron*: "where games are concerned everybody is equal" (70) ["au jeu, nous sommes tous esgaulx"].[15] In sixteenth-century France, women were involved in diplomatic negotiations; François's mother and sister provide good evidence of such practice. Yet in Scribe's play, together, Eléonore, Isabelle, Sanchette, and Marguerite also manage to free themselves from the exploitation of egotistical husbands and lovers. The triumph of political peace and personal happiness is a result of a female solidarity in which selfless interests, virtue, and charity prevail. Interestingly, the title of Marguerite's new tale—the one she tells Charles to

14 Jourda, *Répertoire*, letters 267, 270, 272, 301, 306.

15 *L'Heptaméron*, ed. Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani (Paris: Livre de Poche Classique, 1999), 92.

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divert his attention when François's and Eléonore's marriage takes place—is "Ce qui plaît aux dames" (3.9) ["What Pleases Ladies"].

The pleasure offered by Scribe's palimpsest comes from its unexpected distortions of its acknowledged model. At the same time, the play stimulates its audience to track direct references to the *Heptaméron.* If Scribe's Henri embodies the courtly lover of novella 9, Marguerite's character recalls the lady described by Longarine at the opening of novella 62:

> Au temps du Roy François premier, y avoit une dame du sang roial, accompaignée d'honneur, de vertu et de beaulté, et qui sçavoit bien dire un compte et de bonne grace, et en rire aussi, quant on luy en disait quelcun (622)
>
> [There was, in the reign of François 1er, a certain lady of royal blood, endowed with honor, virtue and beauty, who was well-known for her ability to tell a good story in an elegant style, as well as for her ability to laugh at a good story told by others. (484)].

Les Contes de la reine de Navarre ou La Revanche de Pavie capitalized on a surge of interest in François 1er's reign and coincided with a critical moment in the reception of Marguerite de Navarre's work. Scribe's play reinterprets the *Heptaméron* in the nationalistic and secular perspective of the day. Over three centuries later, the 1525 French defeat in Pavia becomes a pretext to praise a king's and his sister's love for France, and to elaborate on the chivalric behavior of the French. Ironically, the imperial troops' military victory signals Charles V's defeat. Charles shows himself unable to rule his own court, to lead the diplomatic negotiations between France and Spain, and to find personal happiness by winning Marguerite's love. As the *Heptaméron* entered the mid-nineteenth-century French literary canon, religion was conspicuously absent from Scribe's play, and Marguerite's involvement in the religious tensions of her time hardly mentioned. In fact, Scribe encouraged his *théâtre de boulevard* spectators to read the *Heptaméron* only for titillation and chivalric adventures.

Yet could this light nineteenth-century comedy give us some retrospective insights on Marguerite's collection? It certainly stressed the ludic aspect of her stories and made them seem less grim than we think they are.[16] Furthermore, *Les Contes de la reine de Navarre ou La Revanche de Pavie* reminds us that the

16 On this aspect, but in a narrative perspective, see Colette H. Winn, *L'Esthétique du jeu dans* L'Heptaméron *de Marguerite de Navarre* (Montréal: Institut d'Etudes médiévales, 1993).

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survival of past events and historical figures is insured not only by scholarly publications but also by works able to reach out to a wider audience. Gone is the polyphonic quality of the *Heptaméron*, with its ironic questioning of judgment and interpretation. Throughout Scribe's play, amorous intrigues take the place of ethical and Christian concerns. The alleged contrast between the "profane" world of Marguerite's tales and the "sacred" world of her devotional practice became a problem that only critics of the twentieth century started to address.

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CHAPTER 3

Readers Writing in the Gordon Collection *Heptaméron*

Kendall Tarte

What are our thoughts when we encounter a book printed in the sixteenth century? Five centuries later, these encounters inevitably take place in the rare book rooms of major libraries. After requesting the book and waiting for it to be safely delivered to the reading room, we pick it up from its protective box. We touch its cover, smell its odor, then place it gently on the foam book rest. Opening its cover, we look at the bookplates on its front endpapers, listen to the rustle of its pages, read its words. As we look, listen, touch, and smell, we often wonder about past readers, those who owned the book, or who read it, those who did in the past what we are doing in the present. Looking at a sixteenth-century book is an invitation to the past. In a tribute to the collection of the book collector A. Edward Newton, the scholar Charles Grosvenor Osgood captured the fascination that old books can hold for present-day readers and collectors:

> Who in all the centuries have touched this book as I am touching it now? Or how many generations has it passed, quiet and undisturbed, on a darkened shelf, enclosing its own dateless life, while the life of men swirled and eddied around it unconcerned? … To the rightful owner the value of an old book is not a mere matter of date and scarcity. From all its previous owners and readers, known or unknown, has accrued to it a certain potential of humanity which is more than a mere matter of sentiment.[1]

For Osgood, a book acquires "a certain potential of humanity" from those who owned it and read it, whether they were famous or anonymous. These past readers and owners may leave hints of the time they spent with a book. We can examine a book to try to uncover bits of its past, and—to use Osgood's term—of its humanity.

1 Quoted in William H. Sherman, "Rather Soiled by Use," in *The Reader Revealed*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001), 89.

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The Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books invites such an inquiry. Held at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia, the collection contains roughly 1,200 volumes, more than 600 of which were printed before 1600. A native of Baltimore, Maryland, Gordon began purchasing rare French books on trips to Europe during his undergraduate years at Harvard in the 1920s.[2] His studies of Renaissance literature and of early printed books, along with an affinity for French books in particular, guided his pursuits:

> The beauty of French printing … together with the marvels of French illustration and binding, made me want to form a collection illustrating the French aspect of the period I was studying, roughly 1500 to 1650. Because of the abundance and low price of outstanding books in this field, I felt that I could begin such a collection on an undergraduate's income and complete it in my lifetime.
>
> "The Charlecote House Library," 148

Gordon became a lawyer and served as president of St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland; he was also a meticulous collector who insisted on acquiring only the highest quality French books. These works are notable for their excellent condition, their rarity, the craftsmanship of their bindings, or their provenance. Gordon seemed to delight in tracing a book's journey from its original owner to his own library, or in pointing out the many famous past owners of volumes he had acquired.

This article evokes the discovery of the human presence in one book from Douglas Gordon's collection: Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*. It examines the traces of past owners and readers contained in the book's pages. Gordon acquired this volume—the 1560 Claude Gruget edition—early in his career as a collector, during his fourth trip to Europe.[3] He ascribes its importance

2 Gordon gives an overview of his early acquisitions in "Contemporary Collectors XX: The Charlecote House Library," *The Book Collector* 8, 2 (1959), 147–56. In two later *Book Collector* articles, he describes the provenance of a number of books in his collection and some of the association copies: "Contemporary Collectors XX: The Charlecote House Library II: Provenance and Peregrinations," *The Book Collector* 19, 2 (1970), 185–93; "Contemporary Collectors XX: The Charlecote House Library III: Some Association Copies," *The Book Collector* 30, 3 (1981), 369–79.

3 Marguerite de Navarre, *L'Heptaméron des nouvelles* (Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560) [University of Virginia Library: Gordon 1560.M35]. The Gruget edition first appeared in 1559; Gordon's 1560 volume is a reprint of that version. Gruget was the second to collect and publish the stories but the first to use the title *L'Heptaméron* and to name Marguerite de Navarre as the

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to its association with a famous sixteenth-century Englishman: "In 1926 from Tregaskis's attractive shop opposite the British Museum I obtained the *Heptameron* of 1560, a not too prepossessing copy, but of great interest in having on the title-page the signature of Thomas Smith" ("The Charlecote House Library," 150).[4] A diplomat and humanist, Sir Thomas Smith (1513–77) was ambassador to France in the 1560s, most notably during the first wave of civil wars between Protestants and Catholics from 1562 to 1563.[5] He could have acquired this copy of the *Heptaméron* in France during that time.[6] Douglas Gordon's fascination with Smith's signature bears witness to the vogue for association copies—"books that had a documented connection to famous people from the past" (Sherman, "Rather Soiled by Use," 88)—in the first half of the twentieth century. The interest of this volume is not limited to that title page signature. Its past owners—including Gordon himself—left traces that warrant close examination.

Inside its cover, Douglas Gordon's *Heptaméron* shows evidence of three past owners from different eras. Each of the two front endpapers contains a centered bookplate. From the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, the bookplate on the paste-down endpaper bears the arms of Martin of Ham and the words "Ham Court" (Figure 3.1). Ham Court was built in Worcestershire, England, in 1797; this bookplate is believed to have been made for the library

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author. The first printed collection of the stories, by Pierre Boaistuau and called *Histoire des amans fortunez*, appeared in 1558. For the bibliography on early printed editions and the challenges faced by modern editors of this work, see Gary Ferguson and Mary B. McKinley, "The *Heptaméron:* Word, Spirit, World," in *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, eds. Gary Ferguson and Mary B. McKinley, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 324, nn. 3–4.

4 Gordon describes the same volume in similar terms in the third *Book Collector* article; see "The Charlecote House Library III," 371.

5 On Smith's life, see Ian W. Archer, "Smith, Sir Thomas (1513–1577)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, January 2008; http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25906.

6 On the *Heptaméron* in sixteenth-century England, see Anne Lake Prescott, "Making the *Heptaméron* English," in *Renaissance Historicisms: Essays in Honor of Arthur F. Kinney*, eds. James M. Dutcher and Anne Lake Prescott (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 69–84. Warren Boutcher gives a useful overview of the polyglot culture of sixteenth-century England in "Vernacular Humanism in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 189–202. For a variety of approaches to the literary exchanges between England and France in this period, see the collected essays in Catherine Gimelli Martin and Hassan Melehy, eds., *French Connections in the English Renaissance* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

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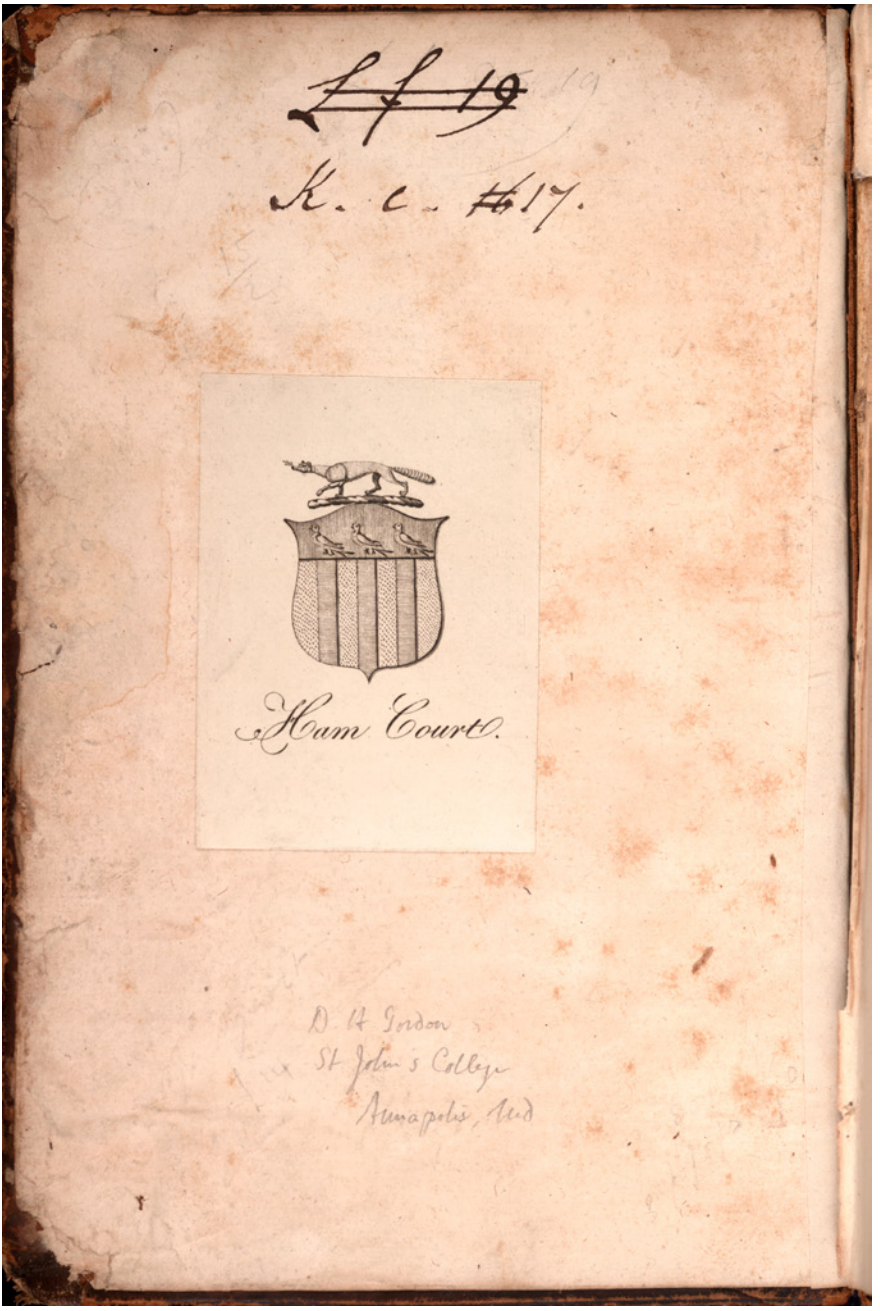

FIGURE 3.1 *Front paste-down endpaper with Ham Court bookplate and Douglas Gordon annotations. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

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of the Reverend Joseph Martin, a book collector who died in 1828.[7] Douglas Gordon's small but distinctive ex libris is on the opposite, free endpaper (Figure 3.2). On a wine-colored background, a gold decorative border frames an oval that contains the motto CRAS INGENS ITERABIMVS ÆQVOR ["Tomorrow we shall set out once more over the boundless sea"]. The phrases EX LIBRIS and DOVGLAS GORDON curve around that inner oval, above and below it, respectively. The Latin quotation, from Horace (*Odes* 1.7.32), comprises the last words of Teucer's farewell speech to his companions as he abandons Troy and departs for Cyprus after the suicide of his half-brother Ajax. In his 1970 *Book Collector* article, Gordon reveals his fascination with the bookplates of other collectors, and he describes the design of his father's family bookplate, but he does not discuss his own bookplate or explain his choice of this motto. The phrase certainly resonates with his travels and rare book–collecting ventures abroad, and with his desire to trace the peregrinations of the books he owned. For Douglas Gordon, and for many of the books he acquired, travel meant crossing the Atlantic Ocean.

The *Heptaméron* endpapers also contain annotations in at least two different hands. Below the Ham Court bookplate, the three-line pencil inscription "D H Gordon / St John's College / Annapolis, Md" is presumably in Douglas Gordon's hand. The pencil markings on the free endpaper above his bookplate also appear to be by Gordon. He includes references to the bibliographies in which this edition of the *Heptaméron* appear—Brunet, Rothschild, and Tchemerzine—and a note that the "[s]ignature on title-page is that of Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to France."[8] That title page is a lavish assemblage of leaves, fruits, and fantastical figures that form an architectural frame for the text (Figure 3.3).[9] The handwritten signature of Thomas Smith draws our attention at the center of the page. His first and last names straddle the name of the author, "Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre." A swooping,

7 This information accompanies the image of the Ham Court bookplate on the Flickr feed of the Provenance Online Project of the Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books, and Manuscripts at the University of Pennsylvania.

8 The bibliographies are Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur des livres*; James Rothschild, *Catalogue de livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*; and A. Tchemerzine, *Bibliographie d'éditions originales et rares d'auteurs français des XV^e^, XVI^e^, XVII^e^, et XVIII^e^ siècles.*

9 The title page of the Gruget-Prevost editions is the most elaborate of those in early printings of the book. This page offers a very fine example of the mid-century fashion for designs influenced by the School of Fontainebleau. See Norma Levarie, *The Art and History of Books* (New York: James M. Heineman, Inc., 1968), 194–96.

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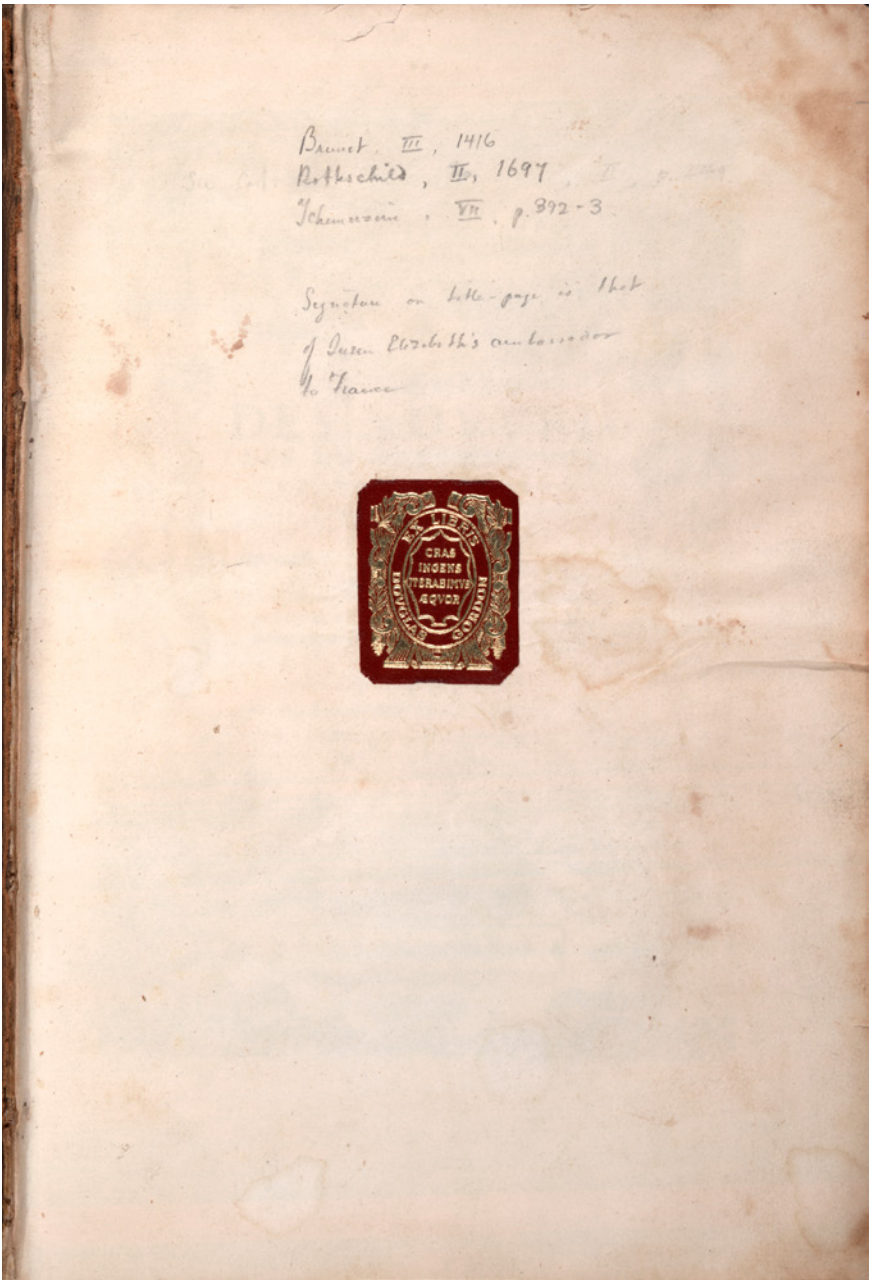

FIGURE 3.2 *Front free endpaper with Douglas Gordon bookplate and annotations. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

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FIGURE 3.3 *Title page with Thomas Smith signature. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre*. Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

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curled line under the signature connects the first letter of Smith's first name ("T") with the last letter of the surname ("h"), intersecting with the ivy loincloth of the satyr at the left, and looping through the explanatory text below.

The handwritten annotations are not limited to the book's endpapers and title page. At least two different readers marked its pages. The first is a sixteenth-century reader who used ink to underline selections in the text, and to copy words and draw images in the margins. This reader is usually assumed to be Sir Thomas Smith, because of the title page signature. Comparison with marginalia in other books from Smith's library confirms this identification. A second, later hand intervenes in a simpler manner. These markings appear to be in graphite; most are simple double vertical lines in the margin, and there are also a small number of words. The author of these notes has not, to my knowledge, been identified by other scholars. Close examination of these markings, especially alongside other volumes in the Gordon Collection, shows strong evidence that this annotator is Douglas Gordon himself. These annotations give a glimpse into the engagement of two readers, from two different eras and two continents, with the *Heptaméron*.[10]

Thomas Smith wrote in his books. He underlined important phrases, and he wrote out words and made drawings in the margins. In the *Heptaméron*, these markings are concentrated in the first pages of the book, and they become much scarcer in later pages. The words that appear in the margins are primarily proper names: those of places and of people, especially those of the ten storytellers, or *devisants*. Such notes may have played a mnemonic role, a way to remember the characters of the frame. He also drew key images—objects mentioned in the text, for example—in the margins of the book's pages.[11] In the prologue, a small drawing of a psalter sits beside the passage in which Oisille discusses her preferred pastime—the contemplation of scripture—and mentions this object: "ceste consideration me donne tant de joye, que je

10 William H. Sherman's excellent work on marginalia in Renaissance England offers the most comprehensive overview of this period; see *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). For the modern period, see H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). For examples of French Renaissance readers who annotated their books, see the collected articles in "Annotations manuscrites dans les livres de la Renaissance," ed. Olivier Millet, Special issue, *Bulletin du bibliophile* 2 (2010).

11 It is striking that Douglas Gordon repeatedly mentions Smith's title page signature—in his *Book Collector* articles and in his front endpaper annotations in this book—but he does not mention these drawings.

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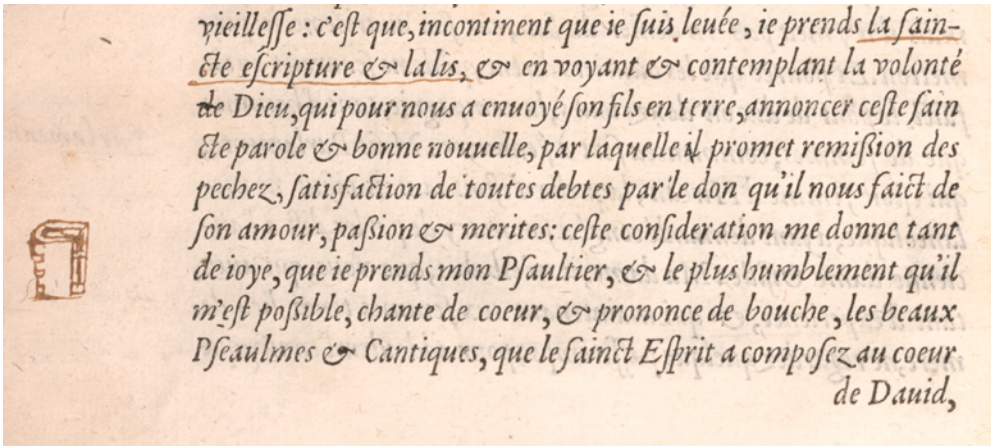
vieilleſſe : c'eſt que, incontinent que ie ſuis leuée, ie prends la ſain-
cte eſcripture & la lis, & en voyant & contemplant la volonté
de Dieu, qui pour nous a enuoyé ſon fils en terre, annoncer ceſte ſain
cte parole & bonne nouuelle, par laquelle il promet remiſſion des
pechez, ſatisfaction de toutes debtes par le don qu'il nous faict de
ſon amour, paſſion & merites: ceſte conſideration me donne tant
de ioye, que ie prends mon Pſaultier, & le plus humblement qu'il
m'eſt poſſible, chante de coeur, & prononce de bouche, les beaux
Pſeaulmes & Cantiques, que le ſainct Eſprit a compoſez au coeur
de Dauid,

FIGURE 3.4 *Marginal drawing of a psalter by Thomas Smith. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. 4v. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

prends mon Psaultier …" (4v) ["And my contemplations give me such joy, that I take my psalter"][12] (Figure 3.4). In tale 3, a stag's head hanging in the home of a nobleman offers a subject of discussion between two cuckolded men as well as a reminder of the cuckold's horns. Next to this passage, a small, finely drawn stag's head is drawn in the margin (14r)[13] (Figure 3.5). In tale 8, the delicate wedding ring that graces the margins is the object that reveals a man's cuckoldry (23r) (Figure 3.6). This man, Bornet, had encouraged his friend to seduce a maidservant; the ring that the friend removes from the woman's hand as proof is in fact the wedding ring of Bornet's wife.

The majority of the drawings and notes are densely packed in the *Heptaméron*'s prologue. These annotations highlight the movements of a large cast of characters through a forbidding topography. The prologue narrates the scattering of travelers visiting the spa town of Cauterets, in the Pyrenees, after

12 All French citations are from the 1560 *Heptaméron* in the Gordon Collection. The English translation is from Marguerite de Navarre, *The Heptameron*, trans. P. A. Chilton (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 66. All further references will be given parenthetically in the text.

13 On the tale's wordplay between horns ("cornes") and crown ("couronne"), and between vassal ("serf") and stag ("cerf"), see Catherine Randall, *Earthly Treasures: Material Culture and Metaphysics in the* Heptaméron *and Evangelical Narrative* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2007), 64–65.

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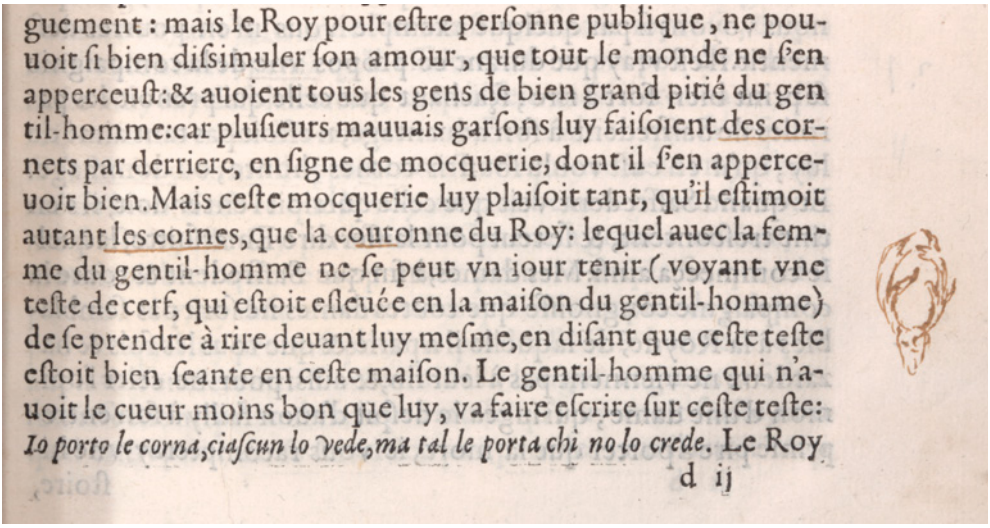
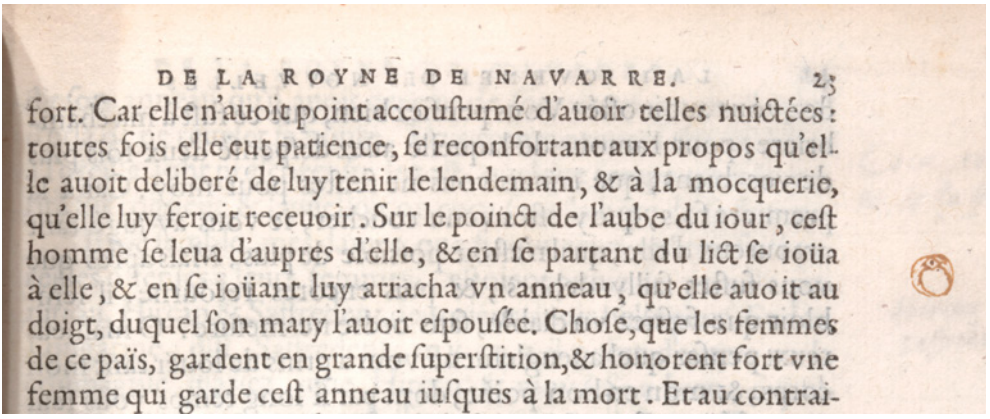

guement : mais le Roy pour eſtre perſonne publique, ne pouuoit ſi bien diſsimuler ſon amour, que tout le monde ne ſ'en apperceuſt: & auoient tous les gens de bien grand pitié du gentil-homme: car pluſieurs mauuais garſons luy faiſoient des cornets par derriere, en ſigne de mocquerie, dont il ſ'en apperceuoit bien. Mais ceſte mocquerie luy plaiſoit tant, qu'il eſtimoit autant les cornes, que la couronne du Roy: lequel auec la femme du gentil-homme ne ſe peut vn iour tenir (voyant vne teſte de cerf, qui eſtoit eſleuée en la maiſon du gentil-homme) de ſe prendre à rire deuant luy meſme, en diſant que ceſte teſte eſtoit bien ſeante en ceſte maiſon. Le gentil-homme qui n'auoit le cueur moins bon que luy, va faire eſcrire ſur ceſte teſte: *Io porto le corna, ciaſcun lo vede, ma tal le porta chi no lo crede.* Le Roy

d ij

FIGURE 3.5 *Marginal drawing of a stag's head by Thomas Smith. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. 14r. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*


DE LA ROYNE DE NAVARRE. 25

fort. Car elle n'auoit point accouſtumé d'auoir telles nuictées: toutes fois elle eut patience, ſe reconfortant aux propos qu'elle auoit deliberé de luy tenir le lendemain, & à la mocquerie, qu'elle luy feroit receuoir. Sur le poinct de l'aube du iour, ceſt homme ſe leua d'aupres d'elle, & en ſe partant du lict ſe ioüa à elle, & en ſe ioüant luy arracha vn anneau, qu'elle auoit au doigt, duquel ſon mary l'auoit eſpouſée. Choſe, que les femmes de ce païs, gardent en grande ſuperſtition, & honorent fort vne femme qui garde ceſt anneau iuſques à la mort. Et au contrai-

FIGURE 3.6 *Marginal drawing of a wedding ring by Thomas Smith. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. 23r. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

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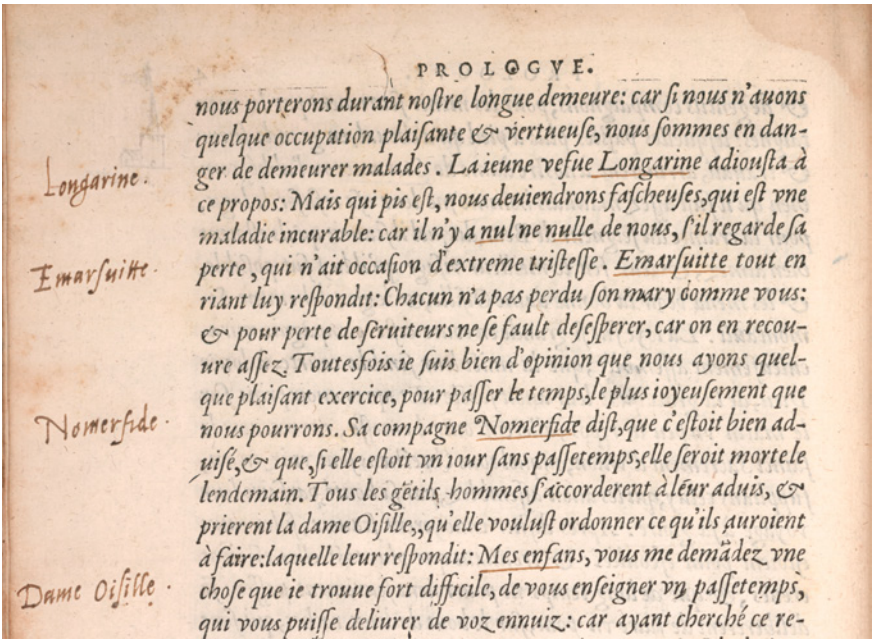
PROLOGVE.
nous porterons durant noſtre longue demeure: car ſi nous n'auons
quelque occupation plaiſante & vertueuſe, nous ſommes en dan-
ger de demeurer malades. La ieune vefue Longarine adiouſta à
ce propos: Mais qui pis eſt, nous deuiendrons faſcheuſes, qui eſt vne
maladie incurable: car il n'y a nul ne nulle de nous, ſ'il regarde ſa
perte, qui n'ait occaſion d'extreme triſteſſe. Emarſuitte tout en
riant luy reſpondit: Chacun n'a pas perdu ſon mary comme vous:
& pour perte de ſeruiteurs ne ſe fault deſeſperer, car on en recou-
ure aſſez. Toutesfois ie ſuis bien d'opinion que nous ayons quel-
que plaiſant exercice, pour paſſer le temps, le plus ioyeuſement que
nous pourrons. Sa compagne Nomerfide diſt, que c'eſtoit bien ad-
uiſé, & que, ſi elle eſtoit vn iour ſans paſſetemps, elle ſeroit morte le
lendemain. Tous les gētils hommes ſ'accorderent à leur aduis, &
prierent la dame Oiſille, qu'elle vouluſt ordonner ce qu'ils auroient
à faire: laquelle leur reſpondit: Mes enfans, vous me demādez vne
choſe que ie trouue fort difficile, de vous enſeigner vn paſſetemps,
qui vous puiſſe deliurer de voz ennuiz: car ayant cherché ce re-
Longarine.
Emarſuitte.
Nomerfide.
Dame Oiſille.

FIGURE 3.7 *Thomas Smith marginal annotations: Names of* devisantes*. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. 4v. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

heavy rains and flooding. A group of them—the book's ten storytellers—come together, after a series of individual adventures through the rough landscape, at the abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Sarrance. As they wait ten days for a bridge to be built so that they can make their way out, they engage in the collective activity of storytelling. Smith's annotations track these characters and locations. During the first discussion the characters have after arriving at Sarrance, as each speaks in the text, his or her name is written in the margin—Longarine, Emarsuitte, Nomerfide, Dame Oisille (Figure 3.7).

Small pictures designate cities, towns, or abbeys. Beside the passage that narrates the separation and scattering of the travelers and that shows Oisille's determination to make her way to the abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Sarrance, flat townscapes indicate places to which some of the travelers stranded in Cauterets dispersed—Narbonne, Barcelona, Marseille, and Aigues-Mortes (Figure 3.8). On the same page, a more prominent religious structure stands for Notre-Dame-de-Sarrance, where the ten storytellers ended up. A drawing of Sarrance appears again when the abbey is mentioned several pages later (Figure 3.9).

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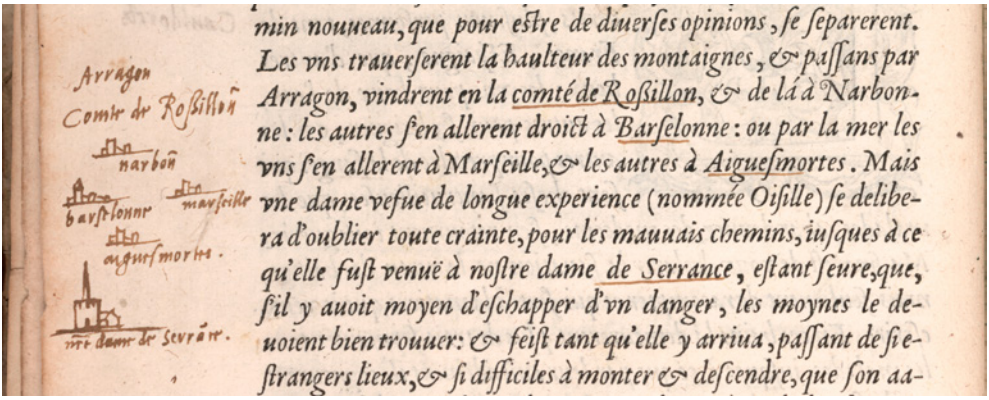
Arragon
Comte de Roſſillõ
narbõ
barſelonne
marſeille
aigueſmortes.
nre dame de ſerrãce.
min nouueau, que pour eſtre de diuerſes opinions, ſe ſeparerent.
Les vns trauerſerent la haulteur des montaignes, & paſſans par
Arragon, vindrent en la comté de Roſſillon, & de là à Narbon-
ne: les autres ſen allerent droict à Barſelonne: ou par la mer les
vns ſen allerent à Marſeille, & les autres à Aigueſmortes. Mais
vne dame vefue de longue experience (nommée Oiſille) ſe delibe-
ra d'oublier toute crainte, pour les mauuais chemins, iuſques à ce
qu'elle fuſt venuë à noſtre dame de Serrance, eſtant ſeure, que,
ſ'il y auoit moyen d'eſchapper d'vn danger, les moynes le de-
uoient bien trouuer: & feiſt tant qu'elle y arriua, paſſant de ſi e-
ſtrangers lieux, & ſi difficiles à monter & deſcendre, que ſon aa-

FIGURE 3.8 *Thomas Smith marginal annotations and drawings: Narbonne, Barcelona, Marseille, Aigues-Mortes, and Notre-Dame-de-Sarrance. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. IV. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

These drawings seem unusual, but Sir Thomas Smith was in fact an extremely active annotator of his books. Scholars have examined his annotation strategies across many books from his personal library, a large part of which is held at Queens' Old Library, Cambridge.[14] The annotations of the Gordon *Heptaméron* fit into these patterns, and there are many striking visual resemblances between its images and those in other volumes. In his survey of the Queens' collection of Smith marginalia, William H. Sherman found that "they convey the full range of his interests and annotational techniques."[15] In texts from a wide range of disciplines—history, science, and law, for example—Smith uses the margins to digest the text. He underlines, copies proper names from the text into the margin, writes summaries, and draws symbols and pictures: portraits, crowns, scrolls, coats of arms, astrological symbols, islands, fortresses, and cityscapes and townscapes (Sherman, *John Dee*, 75–78).[16] These images,

14 I am very grateful to Tim Eggington, College Librarian of Queens' Old Library, Cambridge, who shared valuable information with me about the Thomas Smith holdings and about Smith's marginalia.

15 William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 76.

16 Sherman notes that "Smith's marginalia give the impression of a reader who read straight through a book, almost always annotating the beginning and end of a text, but clearly lacking the interest (in both of its senses) to sustain attention throughout" (223 n. 115). In

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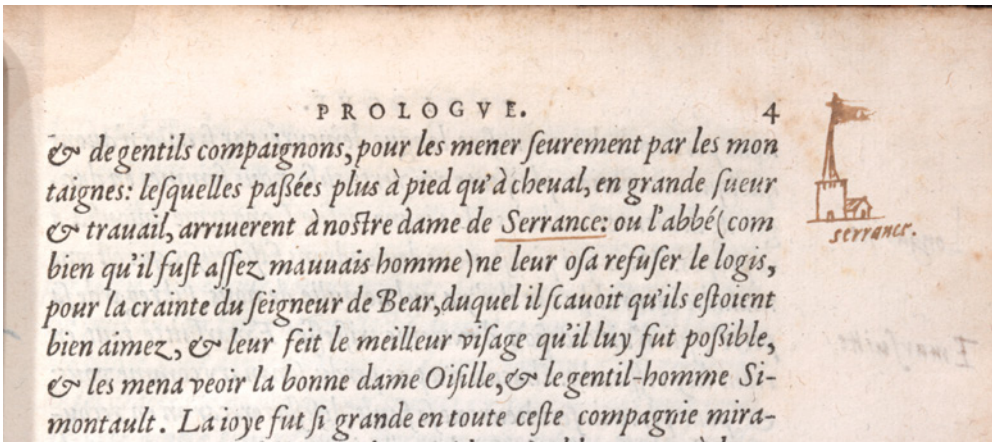
PROLOGVE. 4
& de gentils compaignons, pour les mener ſeurement par les mon
taignes: leſquelles paßées plus à pied qu'à cheual, en grande ſueur
& trauail, arriuerent à noſtre dame de Serrance: ou l'abbé (com
bien qu'il fuſt aſſez mauuais homme) ne leur oſa refuſer le logis,
pour la crainte du ſeigneur de Bear, duquel il ſcauoit qu'ils eſtoient
bien aimez, & leur feit le meilleur viſage qu'il luy fut poſsible,
& les mena veoir la bonne dame Oiſille, & le gentil-homme Si-
montault. La ioye fut ſi grande en toute ceſte compagnie mira-
serrance.

FIGURE 3.9 *Thomas Smith marginal drawing: Sarrance. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. 4r. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

like those in the *Heptaméron,* are symbolic rather than representational: Smith does not distinguish between different towns or associate a drawing with the view of a real town. In the *Heptaméron*, he does give the name of those towns, cities, and abbeys that he portrays in generic drawings. These renderings are similar to those in other books Smith owned. A drawing of an unidentified religious structure in Johanne Milleus's *Praxis criminis persequendi* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1541), a text on civil law, sits beside a section of text in which the words "homicidis, adulteris, virginumq rapto" ["murder, adultery, rape"] are underlined[17] (Figure 3.10). The style of this figure resembles Smith's drawings of Notre-Dame-de-Sarrance: the form of the larger segment of the structure, the small vertical marks at the top, and the shape of the steeple are very similar.

---

the *Heptaméron*, Smith's attention appears to have waned before he reached the end of the book: there are very few annotations in the second half of the book, and none in the last fifty pages.

17 [Queens' Old Library, Cambridge University: H.1.17]. See "Sir Thomas Smith and the Recycling of Humanist Learning: Recent Discovery in Queens' Old Library," *Queens' Old Library Books Blog*, September 28, 2012; http://queenslib.wordpress.com/2012/09/28/new-discovery-in-queens-college-library/.

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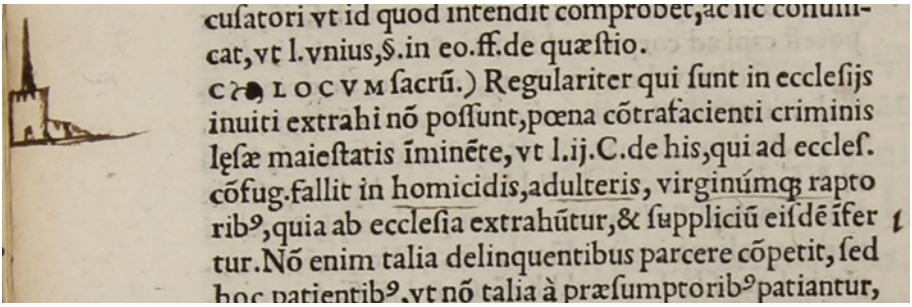
cuſatori vt id quod intendit comprobet, ac ne conuni-
cat, vt l. vnius, §. in eo. ff. de quæſtio.
CLOCVM ſacrũ.) Regulariter qui ſunt in eccleſijs
inuiti extrahi nõ poſſunt, pœna cõtrafacienti criminis
lęſæ maieſtatis īminẽte, vt l. ij. C. de his, qui ad eccleſ.
cõfug. fallit in homicidis, adulteris, virginúmq; rapto
rib⁹, quia ab eccleſia extrahũtur, & ſuppliciũ eiſdẽ īfer
tur. Nõ enim talia delinquentibus parcere cõpetit, ſed
hoc patientib⁹, vt nõ talia à præſumptoribus patiantur,

FIGURE 3.10 *Thomas Smith marginal drawing: a religious structure. Johanne Milleus.* Praxis criminis persequendi. *Paris: Simon de Colines, 1541. Queens' Old Library, Cambridge University. Reproduced by kind permission of the President and Fellows of Queens' College, Cambridge.*

His copy of Paulus Aemilius's *De rebus gestis Francorum* (1550) includes a series of townscapes that echo those in the *Heptaméron*.[18]

In the prologue to the *Heptaméron*, Smith concentrated on drawing those places that are mentioned: cities, towns, and abbeys. Scholars who have studied Smith's marginalia have a variety of explanations for his interest in drawing figures, and towns in particular. Sherman points out that such doodles certainly functioned mnemonically (*John Dee*, 78).[19] Of this kind of annotation, which served as a reminder, Anthony Grafton notes that medieval and Renaissance readers "recorded the paths they had taken through the maze of the text, while labeling key passages for rapid recovery and future use."[20] Phil Withington briefly mentions the hand-drawn townscapes in the *Heptaméron*, placing them within the context of Smith's notions of citizenship.[21] I would like to suggest another way to read these annotations in the prologue. This reading takes account of their visual style and aligns the figures with Thomas Smith's interests. By inscribing place names and drawing images of cities, towns, and abbeys in the margins, Smith points to the geographical nature of the printed text: he associates the *Heptaméron*'s prologue with a map. This is an appropriate

18 Paulus Aemilius, *De rebus gestis Francorum, ad Christianissimum Galliarum Regem Franciscum Valesium* (Paris, 1550), 73r [Queens' Old Library, Cambridge University: G.3.19].

19 Sherman also hypothesizes that Smith's annotation style was widespread, a practice that was taught and even advocated in mid-sixteenth-century Cambridge.

20 "Is the History of Reading a Marginal Enterprise? Guillaume Budé and His Books," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 91, 2 (1997), 148.

21 *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 220.

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metaphor for this text. The prologue indicates the movements through geographical space of a number of characters: the dispersal of some and, more importantly, the coming together of the characters who will tell the book's stories.[22]

In addition to the pictures of abbeys, towns, and cities, another common element of a map appears in the prologue: a river. Gathered at Saint-Savin after making their way to the abbey, the travelers celebrate the Mass and eat dinner, then send a messenger to see if it is possible to cross the Gave de Pau River: "Apres qu'ils eurent ouy la messe et disné, envoyerent voir s'il estoient possible de passer la riviere du Gave, et connaissans l'impossibilité du passage, furent en une merveilleuse crainte" (3r) ["After they had dined they sent someone to inquire whether the water had gone down, only to learn that the river was more swollen than before, and that it would be a long time before they could cross with safety" (65)].[23] Next to this passage, the finely executed, ribbon-like rendering of the river extends from the printed text to the edge of the page. The words "gave fl."—"fl." is an abbreviation of "fleuve" or "flumen," for river—sit above the drawing and follow its curve (Figure 3.11). Whereas the text indicates the impossibility of crossing over the river, the position of the drawing across the width of the right-hand margin encourages a different kind of passage: the turning of the page.

Smith's drawings are not just metaphorical reminders of a map. These figures resemble those on mid-sixteenth-century maps. Smith may well have been thinking of contemporary maps when he read the prologue to the *Heptaméron* and drew in its margins. A detail from Oronce Finé's 1553 map of France shows part of the area in the Pyrenees where the frame story of the *Heptaméron* is set[24] (Figure 3.12). The map figures for towns and cities use variations of a similar design: a tight group of small, rectangular structures, some with a steeple, sit atop a horizontal line. Smith's townscapes echo these images. For example, in his depiction of the city of Tarbes (Figure 3.13), as in Finé's, a narrow central structure with a steeple has shorter structures to its sides.[25] Paolo Forlani's 1566 map of France, based on Finé's, uses a slightly different visual style to show

22 For a very different reading of the importance of geography in the *Heptaméron,* see Timothy Hampton, "On the Border: Geography, Gender, and Narrative Form in the *Heptaméron,*" *Modern Language Quarterly* 57, 4 (1996), 517–44. Hampton reads the *Heptaméron* in the context of the political, geographical, and literary transformations in sixteenth-century France under François 1er.

23 Chilton's translation elides the reaction of the *devisants*—their fear ("crainte").

24 Oronce Finé, *Nova totius Galliae descriptio* (Paris: Jierosme de Gourmont, 1553).

25 See Figure 3.12; Tarbes is at the center of the detail.

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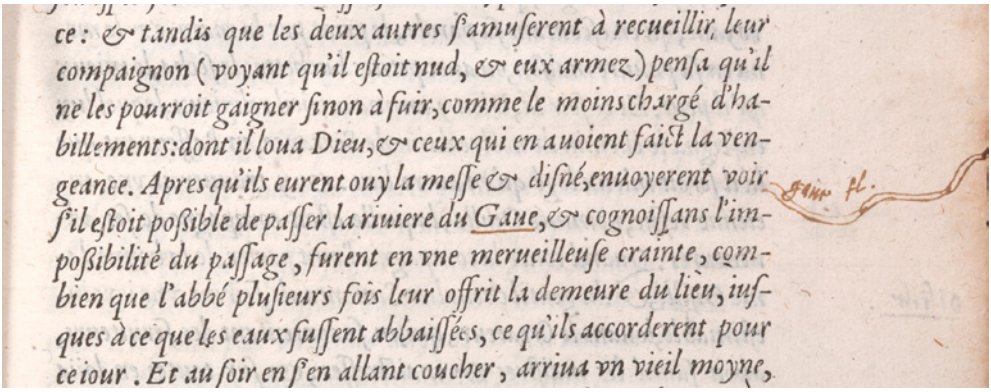
ce: & tandis que les deux autres s'amuserent à recueillir leur
compaignon (voyant qu'il estoit nud, & eux armez) pensa qu'il
ne les pourroit gaigner sinon à fuir, comme le moins chargé d'ha-
billements: dont il loua Dieu, & ceux qui en auoient faict la ven-
geance. Apres qu'ils eurent ouy la messe & disné, enuoyerent voir
s'il estoit possible de passer la riuiere du Gaue, & cognoissans l'im-
possibilité du passage, furent en vne merueilleuse crainte, com-
bien que l'abbé plusieurs fois leur offrit la demeure du lieu, iusq-
ques à ce que les eaux fussent abbaissées, ce qu'ils accorderent pour
ce iour. Et au soir en s'en allant coucher, arriua vn vieil moyne,

FIGURE 3.11 *Thomas Smith marginal drawing: the Gave de Pau River. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. 3r. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

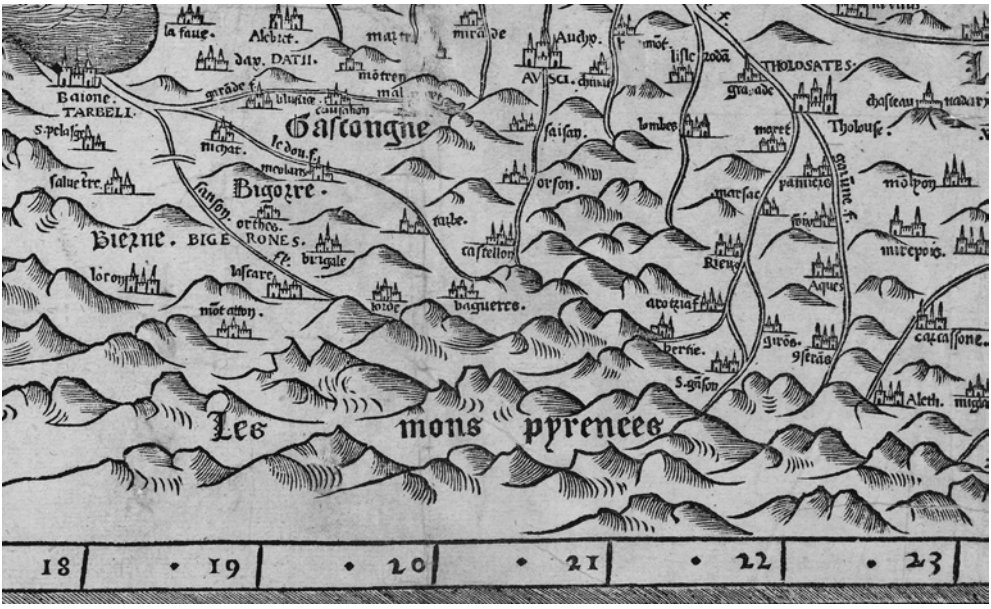

FIGURE 3.12 *The Pyrenees mountains. Oronce Finé. Detail of* Nova totius Galliae descriptio. *Paris: Jierosme de Gourmont, 1553. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.*

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the cities and towns in the Pyrenees[26] (Figure 3.14). These images are quite similar to Smith's renderings of Narbonne, Marseille, and Aigues-Mortes—a series of low, flat structures connected to one another (see Figure 3.8). Finally, Smith's interest in map figures may have inspired the style of another map: in 1572 Smith commissioned a map of the Ards peninsula in Ulster, Ireland, where he had been granted land "with a view to establishing an [English] colony" (Archer).[27] The towns on that map also recall Smith's marginal drawings.[28] Whether or not these maps and drawings directly influenced one another, Smith's figures in the *Heptaméron* show a remarkable affinity with those on sixteenth-century maps. These drawings delight and entertain us. They also remind us of the geographical nature of the prologue to the *Heptaméron*, and they suggest the intersections between Thomas Smith's reading practices and his interests.

The pages of this copy of the *Heptaméron* also contain traces of a second reader, who by the evidence seems to be Douglas Gordon himself. Unlike Thomas Smith, Gordon was not an avid annotator of his books. Beyond the identification marks on the front endpapers of some volumes, very few books in the University of Virginia collection have handwritten markings by Gordon. Some of his early acquisitions, however, do contain brief annotations. In each of these books, one of the last pages includes a handwritten list of topics of interest, along with the relevant page numbers. Markings appear on some of those indicated pages—vertical lines in the margin next to the passage, or a brief note. For example, in his copy of the first edition of Michel de Montaigne's *Journal de voyage* (1774), Gordon includes "Doctors" in the list on the back free endpaper. On the associated page, a vertical line indicates a passage that notes

26 Paolo Forlani, *Totius Galliae exactissima descriptio* (Venice: Bolognino Zaltieri, 1566). For more on Finé and Forlani's maps, and on other maps of France in the sixteenth century, see Monique Pelletier, "National and Regional Mapping in France to About 1650," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, *The European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1480–1503.

27 For an overview of Smith's project in Ireland, see Hiram Morgan, "The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith in Ulster, 1571–1575," *The Historical Journal* 28, 2 (1985), 261–78.

28 The map is held at the British Library: [A Woodcut Map of the Ards in County Down, Ireland], London: [Henry Binneman], [1571] and [1572]. A detail of the East Down section of the map is reproduced in John Stevenson, *Two Centuries of Life in Down, 1600–1800* (Belfast: McCaw, Stevenson & Orr, Limited, 1920), 26. The 1572 map of East Ulster is reproduced in the pamphlet by Mark Thompson, "Sir Thomas Smith's Forgotten English Colony of the Ards and North Down in 1572" (n.p.: Loughries Historical Society, n.d.); this publication is available at http://www.ulster-scots.com/uploads/15561912473172.pdf.

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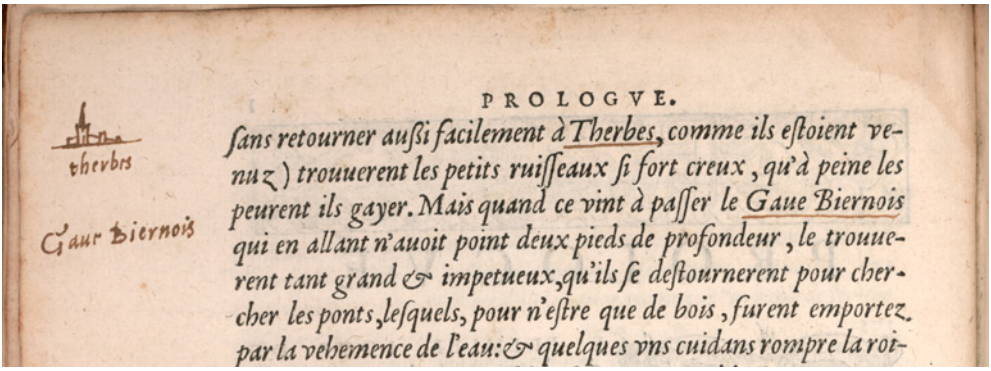
PROLOGVE.
ſans retourner auſſi facilement à Therbes, comme ils eſtoient ve-
nuz) trouuerent les petits ruiſſeaux ſi fort creux, qu'à peine les
peurent ils gayer. Mais quand ce vint à paſſer le Gaue Biernois
qui en allant n'auoit point deux pieds de profondeur, le trouue-
rent tant grand & impetueux, qu'ils ſe deſtournerent pour cher-
cher les ponts, leſquels, pour n'eſtre que de bois, furent emportez
par la vehemence de l'eau: & quelques vns cuidans rompre la roi-
therbes
Gaur Biernois

FIGURE 3.13 *Thomas Smith marginal drawing: Tarbes. Marguerite de Navarre.* L'Heptameron des nouuelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Nauarre. *Paris: Benoist Prevost, 1560. iv. Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

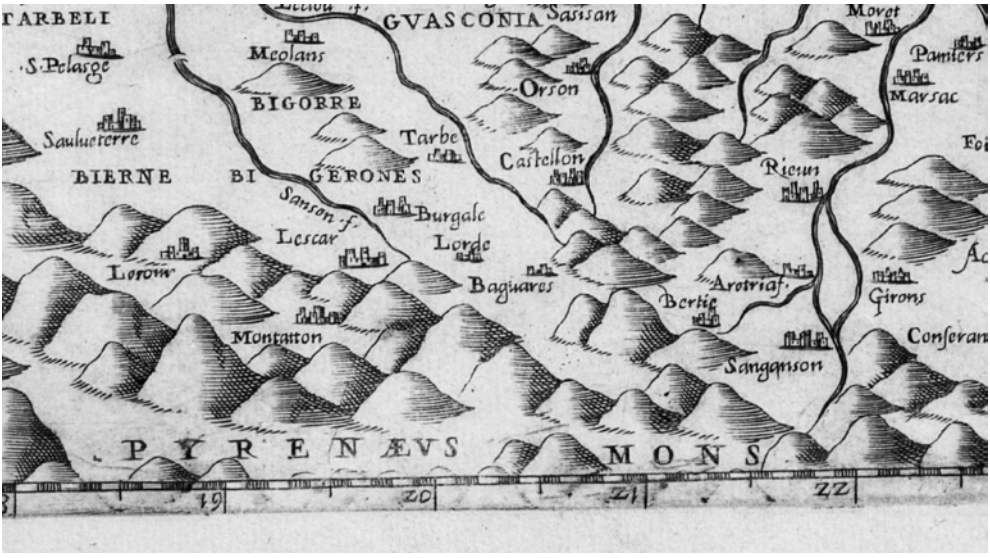

FIGURE 3.14 *The Pyrenees mountains. Paolo Forlani. Detail of* Totius Galliae exactissima descriptio. *Venice: Bolognino Zaltieri, 1566. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.*

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the variety of prescriptions given by doctors in different parts of Italy.[29] Gordon made similar endpaper notations in his copies of Du Bellay's *Œuvres francoises* (1569) and Belleau's *Bergerie* (1572), and in the 1582 edition of Montaigne's *Essais*.[30] These lists include a variety of topics. In the 1582 *Essais*, for example, Gordon's endpaper annotations reveal an interest in other French writers—Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Rabelais, but also Proust. But these notes are too brief, and their presence across Gordon's collection is too uncommon, to allow us to draw any satisfying conclusions about his reading habits.

The pencil markings in the *Heptaméron* are both more abundant and less elaborate than those in other books in Gordon's collection. This volume does not include an annotated list of passages; there are, in fact, very few words at all.[31] Only two pages have notations related to the tales. The name "Castiglione" appears next to a passage in tale 42 that includes the expression "office d'un bon serviteur," which is also underlined in pencil (143r). On one page in tale 54, expressions in the margin—"Baiser" and "plus malade"—repeat those in the text (169r). Other annotations may document Gordon's progress as he read through the book, indicating stories he read and those he had not read. Each tale in the volume includes some indication of its status for this particular reader. The abbreviation "O.K.," for example, appears seven times next to the title of a tale. In all but one of these instances, there are no other markings in the tale. This appears to be an indication that Gordon had, in fact, read it. In the margin beside the titles of ten other tales, which also contain no additional annotations, we find an "O"—the capital letter O or the number zero—that may indicate that these tales had not been read. With this particular volume—in contrast to the other annotated books mentioned above—Gordon certainly seemed to be an attentive reader who charted his progress through the book.[32]

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29 Michel de Montaigne, *Journal du voyage de Michel de Montaigne* (Rome and Paris: Le Jay, 1774) [Gordon 1569.D83].

30 Joachim du Bellay, *Œuvres francoises* (Paris: Federic Morel, 1569) [Gordon 1569.D83]; Rémy Belleau, *Bergerie* (Paris: Gilles Gilles, 1572) [Gordon 1572.B55]; Michel de Montaigne, *Essais* (Bordeaux: S. Millanges, 1582) [Gordon 1582.M65].

31 Given the scarcity of words, it is more difficult to attribute these markings definitively to Gordon. They do match the style of the graphite notations in other books in his collection, as well as in the vast number of Gordon's personal papers, most related to his book collecting, held at the University of Virginia.

32 Another physical sign of Gordon's reading is found in the abundance of items that were placed between the pages of his books—various correspondence, calling cards, greeting cards and postcards, clippings, and other papers. These items were removed from the books after Gordon's collection arrived at the University of Virginia Library; they are catalogued as "ephemera" and available for consultation by researchers.

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By far the most common annotations are the double vertical lines that appear throughout the book, in the margins next to just over one hundred passages. Many of these concern the conduct of women, especially their virtue or lack of virtue. Female virtue is, of course, one of the principal themes of the stories in the *Heptaméron.* Douglas Gordon's markings draw attention to recurrent vocabulary that highlights female character. For example, he notes passages that introduce a woman as virtuous or respectable: "femme de bien" (11r, 22r) or "vraye femme de bien" (10v, 15r).[33] Other notations highlight the use of words, all with the same root, that refer to honor: "honneur" (20r, 35v, 47r), "honneste" (22r, 44v, 69v, 81r), "treshonneste" (21r), "honnestement" (75r), and "honnesteté" (46v). These words are often used in expressions that link them to "amour" ["love"] or "aimer" ["to love"]: "la plus honneste amour" (69v); "aimer honnestement" (75r); "l'amour honneste" (81r). On one page of the book, a single exclamation point replaces the simple vertical lines. It appears in the margin beside the frame discussion among the *devisants* that follows tale 5, the story of the boatwoman who outwits two lecherous friars. The storyteller, Geburon, points out the woman's exemplary honor in resisting the friars. The marginal punctuation mark—a typical expression of surprise—seems to indicate the reader's reaction to a comment by Longarine: "Longarine luy dist: Il me semble, Guebron, que ce n'est pas grande vertu de refuser un cordelier, mais que plus tost seroit chose impossible de les aimer" (19v) ["'If you ask me, Geburon,' observed Longarine, 'there's nothing very virtuous in rejecting the advances of a friar. I don't know how anyone could possibly feel any affection at all for them'" (100)]. Longarine's response to the tale overturns the expected reaction—admiration for the boatwoman's virtue, which Geburon has expressed. The brief but expressive annotation may express surprise at Longarine's reference to physical attraction in the context of this discussion of female virtue. Douglas Gordon's markings in the *Heptaméron* are tricky to decipher, but they do show an attentiveness to one aspect of the tales that has interested readers since the book's publication. In their abundance and simplicity, the pencil markings in the *Heptaméron* offer only a brief glimpse of one reader's encounter with one book. Together, Gordon's and Thomas Smith's annotations offer two graphic perspectives on reading one sixteenth-century book, four centuries apart.

I've long admired the marks made in her own books by another reader, Mary McKinley. Her Pléiade edition of Michel de Montaigne's *Œuvres complètes,* perhaps the most copiously annotated of her books, is well known to Mary's

33 The page references for these vocabulary citations offer a few examples of phrases that Gordon noted; they are not meant to be a comprehensive survey of his annotations.

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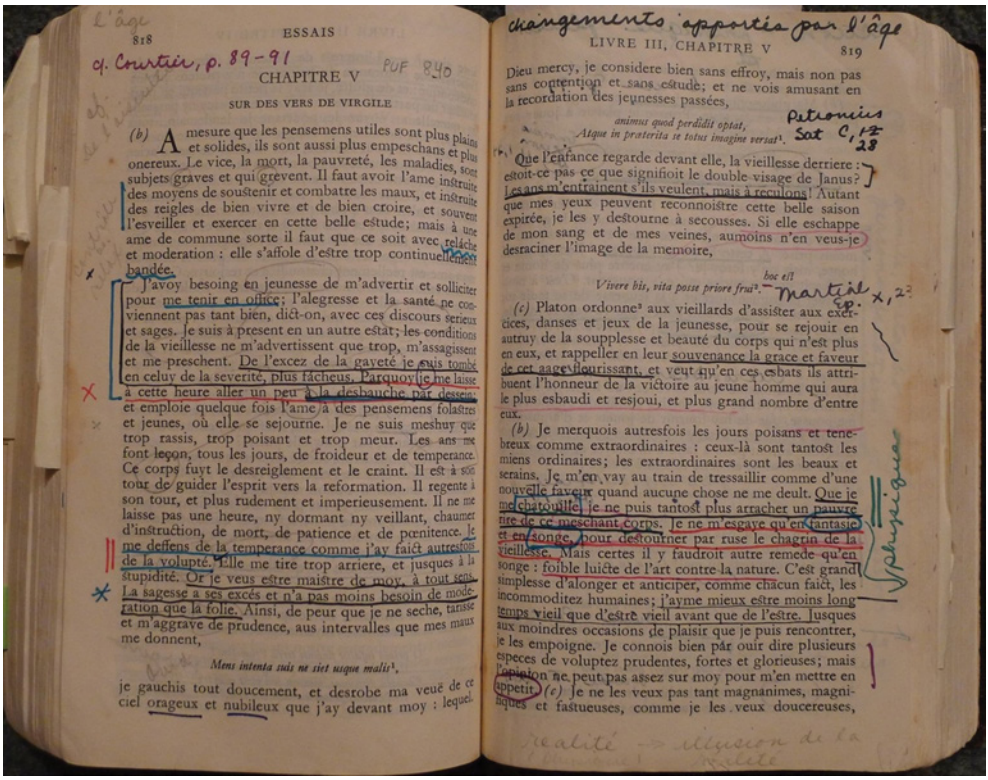
818 ESSAIS
CHAPITRE V
SUR DES VERS DE VIRGILE
A mesure que les pensemens utiles sont plus plains et solides, ils sont aussi plus empeschans et plus onereux. Le vice, la mort, la pauvreté, les maladies, sont subjets graves et qui grevent. Il faut avoir l'ame instruite des moyens de soustenir et combattre les maux, et instruite des reigles de bien vivre et de bien croire, et souvent l'esveiller et exercer en cette belle estude; mais à une ame de commune sorte il faut que ce soit avec relâche et moderation : elle s'affole d'estre trop continuellement bandée.
J'avoy besoing en jeunesse de m'advertir et solliciter pour me tenir en office; l'alegresse et la santé ne conviennent pas tant bien, dict-on, avec ces discours serieux et sages. Je suis à present en un autre estat; les conditions de la vieillesse ne m'advertissent que trop, m'assagissent et me preschent. De l'excez de la gayeté je suis tombé en celuy de la severité, plus fâcheus. Parquoy je me laisse à cette heure aller un peu à la desbauche par dessein; et emploie quelque fois l'ame à des pensemens folastres et jeunes, où elle se sejourne. Je ne suis meshuy que trop rassis, trop poisant et trop meur. Les ans me font leçon, tous les jours, de froideur et de temperance. Ce corps fuyt le desreiglement et le craint. Il est à son tour de guider l'esprit vers la reformation. Il regente à son tour, et plus rudement et imperieusement. Il ne me laisse pas une heure, ny dormant ny veillant, chaumer d'instruction, de mort, de patience et de pœnitence. Je me deffens de la temperance comme j'ay faict autresfois de la volupté. Elle me tire trop arriere, et jusques à la stupidité. Or je veus estre maistre de moy, à tout sens. La sagesse a ses excés et n'a pas moins besoin de moderation que la folie. Ainsi, de peur que je ne seche, tarasse et m'aggrave de prudence, aus intervalles que mes maux me donnent,
Mens intenta suis ne siet usque malis[1],
je gauchis tout doucement, et destobe ma veuë de ce ciel orageux et nubileux que j'ay devant moy : lequel
changements apportés par l'âge
LIVRE III, CHAPITRE V 819
Dieu mercy, je considere bien sans effroy, mais non pas sans contention et sans estude; et ne vois amusant en la recordation des jeunesses passées,
animus quod perdidit optat,
Atque in præterita se totus imagine versat[1].
Que l'enfance regarde devant elle, la vieillesse derriere : estoit-ce pas ce que signifioit le double visage de Janus? Les ans m'entrainent s'ils veulent, mais à reculons! Autant que mes yeux peuvent reconnoistre cette belle saison expirée, je les y destourne à secousses. Si elle eschappe de mon sang et de mes veines, aumoins n'en veus-je desraciner l'image de la memoire,
Hoc est
Vivere bis, vita posse priore frui[2].
(c) Platon ordonne[3] aux vieillards d'assister aux exercices, danses et jeux de la jeunesse, pour se rejouir en autruy de la soupplesse et beauté du corps qui n'est plus en eux, et rappeller en leur souvenance la grace et faveur de cet aage flourissant, et veut qu'en ces esbats ils attribuent l'honneur de la victoire au jeune homme qui aura le plus esbaudi et resjoui, et plus grand nombre d'entre eux.
(b) Je merquois autresfois les jours poisans et tenebreux comme extraordinaires : ceux-là sont tantost les miens ordinaires; les extraordinaires sont les beaux et serains. Je m'en vay au train de tressaillir comme d'une nouvelle faveur quand aucune chose ne me deult. Que je me chatouille, je ne puis tantost plus arracher un pauvre rire de ce meschant corps. Je ne m'esgaye qu'en fantasie et en songe, pour destourner par ruse le chagrin de la vieillesse. Mais certes il y faudroit autre remede qu'en songe : foible luicte de l'art contre la nature. C'est grand' simplesse d'alonger et anticiper, comme chacun faict, les incommoditez humaines; j'ayme mieux estre moins long temps vieil que d'estre vieil avant que de l'estre. Jusques aux moindres occasions de plaisir que je puis rencontrer, je les empoigne. Je connois bien par ouir dire plusieurs especes de voluptez prudentes, fortes et glorieuses; mais l'opinion ne peut pas assez sur moy pour m'en mettre en appetit. (c) Je ne les veux pas tant magnanimes, magnifiques et fastueuses, comme je les veux doucereuses,

FIGURE 3.15 *Mary B. McKinley's annotations in her copy of the Pléiade edition of Michel de Montaigne's* Essais*, opening pages of "Sur des vers de Virgile." Used with her kind permission.*

students. Its pages are filled with markings in her distinctive hand. In the opening to "Sur des vers de Virgile," the abundant notes indicate a thorough and attentive reader[34] (Figure 3.15). She records key vocabulary: on the right-hand page, for example, she circles "chatouille," "fantasie," "songe," and "appetit." She adds a few notes in the margins, and marks the text by underlining it, or by placing vertical lines or a simple symbol—an "x" or an asterisk—next to it. Different colored inks suggest multiple readings that produced a variety of reflections, an active mind that considered and reconsidered Montaigne's essays.

34 This is the copy of the *Essais* that Mary first used in graduate school at Rutgers University, when studying Montaigne with Donald Frame. Whereas she came to use other editions of the work later in her career, she continued—and continues—to refer to this one.

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What can we learn from the marks that readers make in their books? Marginal notes—like those of Thomas Smith, or Douglas Gordon, or Mary McKinley—are notoriously difficult to interpret. They offer traces of individual readers, a hint of their habits and thoughts as they read a book. But perhaps the greatest gift these annotations give us is a palpable reminder of the "potential of humanity" of the books—and the people—we love so well.

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CHAPTER 4

Itineraries of Satire: Polysemy and Morality in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*[1]

Bernd Renner

> Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
> lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.[2]

∴

The ubiquity of satirical writing in the early modern period is due not only to the impact of false etymologies, notably linking Roman *satura* to the Greek *satyr-play*, nor to the availability of reliable editions of the great classical models of the genre, above all Horace, Juvenal, and Lucian, but mainly to the important purpose, esthetical and ethical, that the seriocomical attitude inherent in satire puts at humanists' disposal. Such a tool seems all the more useful at a time marked by radical change in all spheres of life (social, religious, political, geographical, and technological). The resulting questioning of long-standing received truths, especially in the spheres of morals and religion, provides an ideal breeding ground for challenging political and ecclesiastical authorities that constitute the preferred target of satire. It is the mixture between the moralizing and the amusing approaches, Thomas Nashe's famous "sugared pill," that predestines the form for an efficient approach to its declared objective: healing the ills of society.[3]

1 I would like to thank George Hoffmann for his judicious suggestions and Colette Winn for her helpful remarks and kind invitation to deliver the Isidore Silver Memorial Lecture at Washington University in St. Louis a few years ago, where a very early version of this study was presented.

2 "He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader." Horace, *Ars poetica*, trans. H. R. Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), vv. 343–44.

3 For recent studies on early modern French satire, see above all *La Satire dans tous ses états*, ed. Bernd Renner (Geneva: Droz, 2009), Pascal Debailly, *La Muse indignée* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2012), and the extensive bibliographies in both volumes.

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Despite its roots in Roman verse satire, it is in theater and in prose literature that early modern satire was likely to have its biggest impact, as those genres are the most accessible for the largest possible segment of the population, notably the illiterate majority, the former through its visual qualities, the latter via its usually simpler and more easily comprehensible vocabulary and structures (important in public readings, for instance). It seems significant that in the first line of the liminary poem of *Pantagruel*, i.e. at the very beginning of Rabelais's *Chronicles*, the narrator insists on the Horatian *utile dulci mixtum* ("Si pour mesler profit avec doulceur"). Prose fiction is predestined for satire not only because of its greater accessibility, as fundamental as that may be for a form that attempts either to preserve or to change societal norms and behaviors and therefore needs to reach the potential agents, the people (in addition to powerful "subversive forces" or the abusive authorities that it might chastise), but it also appears better suited for the rhetorical requirements of satire. The juxtaposition of the real and the ideal, often via the description of potentialities that are defined as *argumentum* in the anonymous influential treatise of rhetoric *Ad Herennium* (Book I.12), is a combination of fiction and fact that informs most satirical writing. The binary oppositions focus on the status quo by either trying to preserve it or by undermining existing norms.[4]

It is here that we reach the genre of the *nouvelle*, the designation alone inscribing the link between *fabula* and *historia* into its orientation. The claim of truthfulness that is reflected in the genre designation is a traditional *topos*, not limited to satirical writing.[5] It has probably been most brilliantly depicted by Lucian and Rabelais, in the prologues to *True History* and *Pantagruel*, respectively.[6] Marguerite de Navarre places the *Heptaméron* in this very same tradition, albeit less flamboyantly. Referring to Boccaccio's *Decameron*, which was

4 Without looking at the rhetorical or satirical framework, Lucien Febvre had already stressed the psychological and moral inquiry at the center of the text. See *Amour sacré, amour profane. Autour de* L'Heptaméron (Paris: Gallimard, 1944), 278.

5 Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), 209–10; Antoine Compagnon, *Le Démon de la théorie* (Paris: Seuil, 1998), 122–25. Thomas Pavel, *Univers de la fiction* (Paris: Seuil, 1988), 145, speaks of "l'effet trompeur d'un jeu d'illusions" ["the misleading effect of a game of illusions"].

6 Lucian, *Works*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. A. M. Harmon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913), 253: "I shall at least be truthful in saying that I am a liar. I can escape the censure of the world by my own admission that I am not telling a word of truth. […] Therefore my readers should on no account believe in [my stories]." For the *Heptaméron*, see Nicolas Le Cadet, *L'Evangélisme fictionnel. Les* Livres *rabelaisiens, le* Cymbalum mundi*,* L'Heptaméron (*1532–1552*) (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2010), 249–67. For Rabelais's parody, see my "From *Satura* to *Satyre*: François Rabelais and the Renaissance Appropriation of a Genre," *Renaissance Quarterly* 67, 2 (2014), 395–96.

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very popular at François Ier's court, the fictional narrators "se délibérèrent d'en faire autant, sinon en une chose différente de Boccace: c'est de n'écrire nulle nouvelle qui ne soit véritable histoire" ["… made up their minds to do the same as Boccaccio. There was to be one difference—that they should not write any story that was not truthful"].[7] The reference to Lucian seems obvious, as well as the effort to distinguish the collection from its illustrious Italian predecessor, a case of *translatio studii* through "creative imitation" that was widespread at the time. In the Lucianic model, recourse to the *argumentum* is a common tool, as it often complements the *exemplum* apt to convey hidden "higher meanings," mostly of a moral bent clad in the aforementioned clash of the real and the ideal, a main objective of satire. The problematic status of veracity is actually exposed a few lines further, as Boccaccio is ironically invoked as the master of what could be called artful truthfulness: "[Le pre] était si beau et plaisant qu'il avait besoin d'un Boccace pour le dépeindre à la vérité" (48) ["[The meadow] was looking so beautiful and fair that it would take a Boccaccio to describe it as it really was" (69)]. The demarcation between factual truth and some form of "higher" truth only accessible via the artist's inspiration is therefore blurred from the beginning.

The satirical subtext of Marguerite de Navarre's "profane" writings has long been acknowledged by critics, with the pursuit of truth in the realms of social, moral, and religious concerns at its center, a traditional major concern of satire. This objective is usually illustrated through anti-clerical attacks. The focus of these studies has almost exclusively been on the concrete, historical targets of the satirical criticism.[8] What has been neglected up to this point, however, is an examination of the strategies and abstract objectives of the satirical attack, an examination that will be most useful in elucidating the effectiveness of the major dichotomies that are at the root of the form's curative pursuits (dialogic,

7 *Heptaméron*, ed. Simone de Reyff (Paris: GF-Flammarion, 1982), 47–48, and *The Heptameron*, trans. P. A. Chilton (New York: Penguin, 1984), 68. All quotes from the *Heptaméron* will be drawn from these editions. For longer quotes, I merely indicate the corresponding page in the English edition. Unless noted otherwise, all other translations are mine.

8 Mary B. McKinley and Gary Ferguson, "The *Heptaméron*: Word, Spirit, World," in *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, eds. Gary Ferguson and Mary B. McKinley, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 327, 333–37. See also Gary Ferguson, Mal de vivre, mal croire: "L'Anticléricalisme de l'*Heptaméron* de Marguerite de Navarre," *Seizième Siècle* 6 (2010), 151–63, or Le Cadet, *L'Evangélisme fictionnel*, 417–22. In the light of the abundant production of critical literature on the *Heptaméron*, I will keep references to a minimum and refer the reader to the extensive bibliographies in the *Companion* as well as in *Approaches to Teaching Marguerite de Navarre's* Heptameron, ed. Colette H. Winn (New York: MLA Publications, 2007).

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monologic; constructive, destructive; comic, tragic, esthetic, ethic) along the lines of the "fictional evangelism" analyzed recently by Nicolas Le Cadet. This notion captures the mixed nature of early modern satire reflected in these dichotomies, above all the aforementioned fundamental triptych *historia*/*fabula*/*argumentum*, the inherently polysemic nature of militant writing, as well as the broad impact of satire on the period's major religious and political issues.[9]

Taking into account the organization of Marguerite's tales—one story told per narrator on each day, accompanied by a frame story—it appears opportune to retrace the satirical itinerary as it unfolds during one day.[10] The satirical angle adds an intriguing, even enlightening facet to many of the major hermeneutical concerns in recent scholarship, such as polysemy, allegory, the internal structure, and the conflict of rhetoric and veracity of this "conversation conteuse."[11] A brief sidelong glance at Bonaventure Des Périers's quite different take on the hermeneutics of satire will provide a valuable contrast to the queen's more complex enterprise.

This contrast emerges in the respective prologues to the two collections. In the *Heptaméron*, we notice the same synthesis of physical and moral remedies that characterize Rabelais's approach:

> Le premier jour de septembre que les bains des Monts Pyrénées commencent entrer en leur vertu, se trouvèrent à ceux de Cauterets plusieurs personnes, tant de France que d'Espagne, les uns pour y boire de l'eau, les autres pour s'y baigner, et les autres pour prendre de la fange, qui sont choses si merveilleuses que les malades abandonnés des médecins s'en retournent tout guéris. Ma fin n'est de vous déclarer la situation ni la vertu desdits bains, mais seulement de raconter ce qui sert à la matière que je veux écrire. (39; 60)

9 Le Cadet, *L'Evangélisme fictionnel*, 28: "Et cette familiarité avec le texte biblique, cette 'intelligence des écritures' octroyée à certains, doit être partagée avec toutes les couches de la population, y compris les 'simples gens'" ["And this familiarity with the biblical texts, this "comprehension of the Scriptures" bestowed upon a few, must be shared with all layers of the population, including uneducated people"].

10 For the role of the tales' order, see, for example, Pierre Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême, duchesse d'Alençon, reine de Navarre* [1930] (Geneva: Slatkine, 1978).

11 I borrow these terms from Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani, *La Conversation conteuse. Les Nouvelles de Marguerite de Navarre* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992); see above all the first two chapters, "La Beauté de la rhétorique, la vérité de l'histoire" and "Poétique de la nouvelle."

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From the very beginning of the text, this sketch of a *paralipsis* with regard to the spa's beneficial effect hints not only at the predominance of rhetoric but, more importantly, also metonymically facilitates the ensuing description of the tales' medicinal qualities that are presented as instrumental in the fight against moral ills, such as idleness or melancholy. Such ills prove all the more dangerous in the current dilemma in which the company finds itself, trapped by inclement weather and other frightening events. However, similar to the notion of veracity, the ambiguity of these concepts is latent from the beginning, as the healing power of water is countered by its threatening potential via torrential rains that trap the *devisants*. In the context of satire, we can identify a first metaphorical indication of the malleability of language, a potential source of healing or abuse whose orientation depends on the orator. The remedial powers of the verb, deriving from the mythical origins of satire, are first exemplified by the morning mass before being applied explicitly to the novella:

> [L]a compagnie, tant d'hommes que de femmes, commença fort à s'ennuyer. Mais Parlamente […] laquelle n'était jamais oisive ni mélancolique […] dit à l'ancienne dame Oisille: "Madame, je m'ébahis que vous, qui avez tant d'expérience et qui, maintenant, à nous femmes tenez lieu de mère, ne regardez quelques passe-temps pour adoucir l'ennui que nous porterons durant notre longue demeure. Car si nous n'avons quelque occupation plaisante et vertueuse, nous sommes en danger de demeurer malades." La jeune veuve Longarine ajouta à ce propos: "Mais qui pis est, nous deviendrons fâcheuses, qui est une maladie incurable: car il n'y a nul ni nulle de nous, si regarde à sa perte, qui n'ait occasion d'extrême tristesse." (44–45; 65–66)

A surprising wealth of satirical key notions enriches this conspicuous beginning: the explicit mention of a cure ("Si à quelqu'une de vous advenait pareil cas, le remède y est jà donné" [72]) ["So if anything like this should ever happen to any of you, you now know what the remedy is" (96)]; or the rejection of *ad hominem* attacks that all major treatises (Sébillet, Du Bellay, Peletier) identified as key to successful satire ("tout cela est véritable, hormis les noms, le lieu et le pays" [94]) ["So everything that I shall tell you is true to life, except the names of the people and the places" (121)].

The insistence on a cure appears all the more remarkable if we compare it to the liminary texts of Bonaventure Des Périers's *Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis* (1558), explicitly at the service of epicurean delight, "bien vivre et se réjouir," as we read in the "Première nouvelle en forme de préambule," as well as in the introductory sonnet, which states:

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> Icy n'y ha seulement que pour rire.
> Laissez à part vostre chagrin, vostre ire
> Et voz discours de trop loing desseignez:
> Une autre fois vous serez enseignez,
> Je me suis bien contrainct pour les escrire.
> J'ay oublié mes tristes passions.[12]
>
> [Here you'll find matter for laughter only. / So cast away your sorrow, your ire / And your overwrought speeches: / You will get schooled some other time, / I restrained myself well to write them. / I forgot my sad emotions.]

There is no acknowledgment of any intent to administer a cure or transmit a moral lesson here, but rather of a "constraint" to privilege pure entertainment destined to provide temporary relief from daily sorrows and irritations. Modesty *topos* or a protective veil covering a subtle satire? The latter seems all the more likely, as the narrator, in the first chapter, challenges female readers that might be put off by the tales' allegedly vulgar content, a common technique of satire brilliantly illustrated in Rabelais's first two books. Consequently, the women are warned not to give up their privilege of reading and interpreting the text themselves by having their brothers expurgate and read it to them:

> Ah mes fillettes, ne vous y fiez pas: ilz vous tromperont, ilz vous feront lire ung *quid pro quod*! Voulez vous me croyre? Lisez tout, lisez lisez. Vous faictes bien les estroictes. Ne les lisez donc pas. A ceste heure verra lon si vous faictes bien ce qu'on vous defend. (17)
>
> [Ah, my girls, don't believe what you hear: they will trick you, they'll have you understand one thing for another! Will you believe me? Read everything, read, read. You pretend to be narrow-minded. So don't read them. We'll see soon if you do what has been forbidden.][13]

Despite the veils of the playful tone and the ostensible restriction to female readership, the readers are incited to take charge of the process of arriving at meaning and judge the book without any authoritative guidance, the abusive

12 *Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis*, ed. Krystyna Kasprzyk (Paris: Société des Textes Français Modernes, 1997), 2. All quotes from Des Périers refer to this edition.

13 For a detailed analysis of this chapter, see my "Satirical Dialogism in the Paratext of Bonaventure Des Périers' *Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis*," *French Forum* 33, 1–2 (2008), 1–14.

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use of rhetoric being insinuated by the likelihood of the *quid pro quod*. In the *Heptaméron*, this notion is developed in a more complex and subtle fashion in the frame narrative, as we will see. Such an undertaking has far-reaching implications, as it liberates the concept of meaning from the stranglehold of political and religious authorities at a time when philological methods were applied to the Holy Scriptures and fixed allegorical schemata of reading were breaking up.[14] As the climate for satire, especially of the religious bent, was becoming increasingly hostile, François Ier's sister seems to have used her privileged position for a more elaborate, radical, and powerful approach to reach her critical objectives. The interplay between the mostly monologic narrative and the dialogic dissection of the tales' moral lessons in the frame narrative presents an innovative variant of the Horatian *utile dulci mixtum* and the polysemic appeal to critical independent thinking that was at the center of Renaissance satire.[15] The *devisants* incarnate the precepts from Des Périers's first chapter through their conflicting readings of the tales, which undermine any possible authoritative voice, not in the least the main narrator's.[16]

Day 4 is presented under a premise that seems tailor-made for the workings of Horatian satire:

> En la quatrième Journée, on devise principalement de la vertueuse patience et longue attente des dames pour gagner leurs maris; et la prudence dont ont usé les hommes envers les femmes, pour conserver l'honneur de leurs maisons et lignage. (287; 52)

Dichotomies such as reality/appearance or reality/ideal, cornerstones of the satirical enterprise, inform this short introduction and provide the ideal theoretical framework for the traditional satirical treatment of unethical behavior (murder, incest, and revenge) that lend coherence to the day's tales.[17] Although these concerns are far from exclusive to day 4, they seem to be of particular interest to the satirical itinerary established in that day's ten tales. The moral

14 See Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les Quatre Sens de l'écriture* (Paris: Aubier, 1959–64); Michel Jeanneret, *Le Défi des signes. Rabelais et la crise de l'interprétation à la Renaissance* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994).

15 For more general implications, see Michel Jeanneret, "Commentary on Fiction, Fiction as Commentary," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 91 (1992), 909–28 (French transl. in *Défi*, 33–52).

16 See Nicole Cazauran, *Variétés pour Marguerite de Navarre 1978–2004* (Paris: Champion, 2005), 213–22.

17 See Hervé Thomas Campangne, "Marguerite de Navarre and the Invention of the *Histoire tragique*," in Winn, *Approaches*, 91–96.

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framework is further enhanced in the prologue by the association of mind and body in the context of productive and pleasant *negotium*, enhanced by the power of the verb, which Parlamente stresses after the morning catechism: "Ma paresse m'a doublement profité, car j'ai eu repos de corps à dormir davantage, et d'esprit à vous ouïr si bien dire!" (289) ["my laziness has yielded twice the profit—I have rested my body by sleeping longer, and given repose to my mind by listening to your excellent words" (324)]. The conditions for a subtle but sustained satirical development in the tradition of the *utile dulci mixtum* are therefore well in place, and a brief overview of the ten tales and their frame discussions will show how the satirical subtext can enhance our reading of the *Heptaméron*.

Tale 31 tells the story of a hypocritical Franciscan monk, one of Marguerite's favorite targets, who attempts unsuccessfully to kidnap a nobleman's wife. The punishment for the failed crime amounts to a fairly harsh version of divine justice:

> Et fut trouvé, par sa confession et preuve qui fut faite par commissaire sur le lieu, qu'en ce monastère y avait été mené un grand nombre de gentilles femmes et autres belles filles, par les moyens que ce Cordelier y voulait mener cette demoiselle. Ce qu'il eut fait sans la grâce de Notre-Seigneur, qui aide toujours à ceux qui ont espérance en lui. Et fut ledit monastère spolié de ses larcins et des belles filles qui étaient dedans, et les moines y enfermés dedans brûlèrent avec ledit monastère, pour perpétuelle mémoire de ce crime, par lequel se peut connaître qu'il n'y a rien plus dangereux qu'amour quand il est fondé sur vice, comme il n'est rien plus humain ni louable que quand il habite en un cœur vertueux. (293; 329)

The moral lesson appears clear and univocal, and we will see later in which ways the ensuing discussions complicate the hermeneutics of the satirical cure throughout the day. Tale 32 continues the examination of extreme forms of punishment. A nobleman conceives of a punishment "pire que la mort" (299) ["worse than death" (334)] for his adulterous wife: he locks her into her room containing an armoire filled with the bones of her former lover and has her drink out of the latter's skull during meals. The wife is thus in the constant presence of "l'ennemi vivant et l'ami mort" (297) ["her living enemy and her dead lover" (333)]. The tale focuses exclusively on the issue of the appropriate reaction to undisputable wrongdoing. Under the influence of an envoy of King Charles VIII, guest at the nobleman's estate and witness to the situation, the husband does end up forgiving his repentant wife. Even if the motivation is

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not entirely charitable or unselfish—to have children that would continue the lineage—the "cure" enables the couple to move on.

In addition to the parody, even the social satire, of an "Immaculate Conception" that turns out to be simply incestuous, tale 33 focuses on a similar situation as the preceding stories:

> L'on attendit que sa sœur fut accouchée et, après avoir fait un beau fils, furent brûlés le frère et la sœur ensemble, dont tout le peuple eut un merveilleux ébahissement, ayant vu sous si saint manteau un monstre si horrible, et sous une vie tant louable et sainte régner un si détestable vice. (302; 339)

Even before the debate, an "ideal" reader is targeted directly by the insistence on the impression that the severe punishment had on the audience. This audience, however, is still the simple beneficiary of an "inspired" authority blessed with the gift of meting out divine justice, as Hircan underlines (303; 339). Hypocrisy, "cause de tous les maux que nous avons" (303) ["the cause of all the evils we have" (340)], stands no chance in such an idealized universe whose justice system, as opposed by the common people, is not fooled by "signes ni miracles extérieurs" (302) ["outward signs and miracles" (339)]. Even this highly consensual debate does not fail to relativize the *exemplum* and its conservative implications, however, as the "spirit of God," indispensable for this model behavior on both sides of the law, requires faith and is therefore "a gift from God which is [scarcely] shared by all men" (340), including legal authorities. More than rationality or erudition, faith is probably the main factor informing critical thinking independent from human intervention, which characterizes the "lecteur suffisant," despite the problematic nature of this definition.[18]

Tale 34 provides some comic relief after the initial serious stories and discussions. The farcical interlude features two overly curious Franciscan friars ("cordeliers") who eavesdrop on their host, a butcher, as he talks about killing some of his pigs the next day. He refers to his pigs as "cordeliers," an ambiguity

18 I build here on Jan Miernowski's comments on "spiritual interpretation" and its alleged ambiguities: "Toutefois cette herméneutique est accompagnée par un manifeste travail de brouillage qui interroge la volonté de l'interprétateur, met en question l'intentionnalité des signes et semble s'acharner à désintégrer la composition du recueil" ["However, this hermeneutics is accompanied by an attempt at blurring that tests the will of the interpreter, questions the intentionality of the signs, and seems to insist unrelentingly on breaking up the structure of the collection"]. *Signes dissimilaires* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), 64.

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that is at the root of the friars' misunderstanding and ensuing fear for their lives. This situation triggers the physical comedy usually reserved for popular theater. One of the friars hurts his leg while trying to escape, and as he hears the butcher approaching, "ne se pouvant soutenir sur sa jambe, saillit à quatre pieds hors du tect, criant tant qu'il pouvait miséricorde" (305) ["not being able to stand up on his injured leg, crawled out of the sty on all fours, shouting for mercy at the top of his voice" (342)]. When the surprised butcher clears up the misunderstanding, "leur peur tourna incontinent en ris" (305) ["their fright immediately gave way to laughter" (342)]. Even if the main purpose of the tale is to provoke frank, farcical laughter after the stern moralizing of the preceding tales, producing at the most the acerbic version of satirical laughter, the entertainment is not entirely gratuitous either.[19] We detect criticism of inappropriate curiosity, mockery of ignorance, and, yet again, a warning against the potential pitfalls of the interpretation of ambiguous language, thus preserving the Horatian principles even in such farcical "interludes."[20] The first four tales seem to mirror the conventional antithetical structure of satire, oscillating between serious moralizing and lighter fare. After the "interlude," Marguerite seems to favor a more balanced approach, as seriocomic elements are represented within each tale—with the possible exception of tale 39—showcasing one of the major epistemological shifts in early modern satire.

Tale 35 depicts the ruse of a husband curing his wife from her infatuation for yet another Franciscan friar by disguising himself as the friar and using the unwitting target of his wife's affections in the process. Farce (physical comedy of the wife being beaten by her disguised husband) and serious moral issues (adultery) combine to lead to a much less violent denouement, more in tune with a constructive moral cure: "Et détestant sa folie, [sa femme] s'adonna du tout au mari et au ménage, mieux qu'elle n'avait fait paravant" (313) ["So it was that she came to hate her folly, and devoted herself to her husband and home more earnestly than before" (351)].[21]

19 See Pascal Debailly, "Le Rire satirique," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 56 (1994), 695–717, who distinguishes between three major incarnations of satirical laughter: didactic, gratuitous, and acerbic.

20 Early reception actually focused on the *delectare*; see Montaigne's "gentil livre pour son estoffe," (*Les Essais*, ed. Pierre Villey [Paris: Quadrige/PUF, 1965], 430); "a noble book for its cloth" (*The Complete Essays*, trans. M. A. Screech [London: Penguin, 1987], 481).

21 Folly was usually clearly distinguished from vice in contemporary satirical literature, as Nomerfide remarks, e.g., in the aforementioned debate of tale 33 ("Fools do not hide their true feelings and attitudes, vicious people do," 303; 339–40). See Jürgen Brummack, "Zu Begriff und Theorie der Satire," *DVLG* 45 (1971), 313–17. The implications of the notion of folly exceed the scope of this short article; see also Brant's *Ship of Fools*, Erasmus's *Praise*

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The remainder of the day's stories explore similar issues, the focus remaining on the theme of inevitable higher justice. We witness another cruel punishment—poisoning—that a Grenoble nobleman inflicts on his unfaithful wife while preserving the honor of his name (36), a woman's initially reasonable and then increasingly radical measures to cure her husband from his predilection for unkempt chambermaids (37), the opposite approach to the same problem, namely a woman's excessive kindness towards her adulterous husband (38), the punishment of a dishonest chambermaid (39), and, finally, the chastisement of a brother who had ruined the life of his sister (40). Despite the more comical bent, the exploration of all these diverse angles and perspectives revolves around the theme of achieving justice in an idealized society that will inevitably reestablish order. The different means to achieve the order and the nature of the order are the topics that the tales and the ensuing discussions explore in a complex manner.

Tales 37 and 38, for example, juxtapose different ways of reacting to a husband's adultery and saving a marriage, respectively illustrating the destructive and constructive variants of satire. The wife of the first tale sees her kindness go unrewarded, and therefore sets fire to the room in which her husband sleeps with a chambermaid, only to save him at the last minute and to issue a stern warning: "je ne sais si une seconde fois je vous pourrai retirer du danger comme j'ai fait" (322) ["I do not know if I shall have it in my power a second time to save you from danger" (359)]. In the second tale, the wife's boundless kindness and patience has the desired effect; in fact, it seems the only "cure": "sans le moyen de cette grande douceur et bonté, il était impossible qu'il eût jamais laissé la vie qu'il menait" (325) ["if she had not acted with such goodness and kindness, he would never have been able to give up the kind of life he had been leading" (363)]. This conclusion puts an unreasonable burden on the wife, an irony that Parlamente picks up in her assessment: "Voilà une femme sans cœur, sans fiel et sans foie" (325) ["That woman had no heart and no backbone" (363)].

It is the spokesperson of evangelical authority, Oisille, who not only contradicts Parlamente but also judges both cases with similar terms, further underlining the subjectivity of interpretation, and thus the problematic of unchallenged authority, the true target of the satire.[22] "We reach the same end

of Folly, or Rabelais's *Tiers Livre*, as well as Olga Anna Duhl, *Folie et rhétorique dans la sottie* (Geneva: Droz, 1994).

22 Tale 37: "Voilà [...] un exemple qui doit servir à toutes les femmes mariées" (322) ["That was an example of which all married women should take note" (360)]; "Dieu a mis bon ordre [...] tant à l'homme qu'à la femme que, si l'on n'en abuse, je tiens mariage le plus beau et le plus sûr état qui soit au monde" (323) ["God has so wisely ordained [...], both for

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by discrepant means," as Montaigne will state in the first chapter of the *Essays* a few decades later, at the height of a crisis of exemplarity that Marguerite de Navarre's complex structure never fails to underline.

Before returning to the frame discussions, another glance at the *Nouvelles Récréations* will underline the specificity of Marguerite's approach. The depiction of idealized behavior and the accumulation of "perfect" endings and of inevitable, flawless, albeit severe, justice could have turned the collection into yet another representative of pedagogical *exempla*, rather than a description of *realia*, all the more so as realism appears more pronounced in other collections. Justice appears far more fickle in Des Périers, and crimes and sins not only often go unpunished, but frequently even yield the desired profit. One prominent illustration is tale 9, where sire André offers to "complete" the ear of his neighbor's pregnant wife's unborn child by sleeping with her. When the husband learns the truth, he reacts as follows:

> Et Dieu sçait de quel sommeil il dormit là dessus. Et luy qui estoit homme colere, en pensant à l'achevement de ceste oreille, donna par fantasie plus de cent coups de dague à l'acheveur. Et luy dura la nuict plus de mil ans, qu'il n'estoit desja apres ses vengeances. Et de fait la première chose qu'il fit quand il fut levé, ce fut d'aller à ce sire André: auquel il dit mille outraiges, le menassant qu'il le feroit repentir du meschant tour qu'il luy avoit fait. Toutesfois de grand menasseur peu de fait. Car quand il eut bien fait du mauvais, il fut contraint de s'appaiser pour une couverture de Cataloigne que luy donna le sire André: A la charge toutesfois qu'il ne se mesleroit plus de faire les oreilles de ses enfans, et qu'il les feroit bien sans luy. (55)
>
> [And God knows into what kind of slumber he fell after that. Thinking of the finishing of the ear and being prone to rage, he imagined striking the finisher a hundred times with his dagger. And the night seemed to him to last a thousand years, as he was dying to take his revenge. And in fact, the first thing he did after he got up was to go see this sir André: upon whom he heaped a thousand insults, threatening to make him regret the mean trick he had played on him. However, his threats did not translate into

men and for women, that, provided one does not abuse it, marriage is, I believe, the finest and surest state in the world" (361)]. Tale 38: "Mais je crois plutôt qu'elle était si mortifiée en l'amour de Dieu qu'elle ne se souciait plus que du salut de l'âme de son mari." See also Le Cadet, *L'Evangélisme fictionnel*, 139–50, on "antidogmatism" (325) ["I believe that she was so purified by divine love that her sole concern was to save her husband's soul" (363)].

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> acts. After giving in abundantly to his nasty side, he was compelled to calm down by a Catalan blanket that sir André gave him. He was assured, however, that sir André would no longer get mixed up in the fabrication of his children's ears, a task he was perfectly able to complete himself.]

Despite the tale's origins in Poggio's *Facetiae*, we can discern serious undertones, such as a satire of disconcerting moral values, especially as they pertain to the economic value of women, avarice, or even (inappropriate) pragmatism. Such values appear to underline a corrupt and therefore less idealized reality, which requires vigilance, as some crimes and sins reveal themselves not only to be truly irreparable but also remain unpunished.

In the more subtle satire of the *Heptaméron*, the apparent univocity of the tales is countered by the discussions of the frame narrative, a construct that reveals a different intentionality. It is this additional layer that challenges the tales' seemingly conventional message by rendering the deliberative layer inherently ambivalent and countering the apparent demonstrative clarity of the tales. Parody and satire actually unfold their full potential in the clash between the two narrative modes of the *Heptaméron*, exploiting the collection's "bipolar" structure that ends up enabling the author to challenge the conventional "moral codes" that triumph on the surface of the novellas.[23] This satire seems far more radical and wide-reaching than the traditional anticlerical approach, a "meta-version" of the praise/blame paradigm that transcends the realm of the concrete and reinforces the ethical layer of the queen's more abstract evangelical agenda.

Some final illustrations of this strategy are reflected in the dialogic exchanges of the frame narrative, which promotes a less codified set of moral values than the tales seem to imply. The debate after tale 32 reveals itself exemplary in this respect:

> Je trouve, dit Parlamente, cette punition autant raisonnable qu'il est possible, car tout ainsi que l'offense est pire que la mort, aussi est la punition pire que la mort." Dit Ennasuite: "Je ne suis pas de votre opinion, car j'aimerais mieux toute ma vie voir les os de tous mes serviteurs en mon cabinet que de mourir pour eux, vu qu'il n'y a méfait qui ne se puisse amender, mais après la mort n'y a point d'amendement."—"Comment sauriez-vous amender la honte? dit Longarine, car vous savez que, quelque chose que puisse faire une femme après un tel méfait, ne saurait réparer son honneur. (299; 334–35)

23 I borrow these terms from Mathieu-Castellani, *La Conversation conteuse*, 36–37.

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Parlamente's idealism is immediately contradicted by Ennasuite's pragmatism. The two opposing views are then countered by Longarine's realism, which only exposes the problem and asks an open-ended question without offering a path to follow. Her comment complicates what could have been a straightforward binary opposition and opens up the discussion to the reader. Further biblical arguments follow, also without leading to a clear answer, before Ennasuite concludes: "Je ne me soucie […] quel nom les hommes me donnent; mais que Dieu me pardonne et mon mari aussi" (299) ["I don't care what names men call me, only that God pardons me and my husband" (335)]. The dismantling of authoritative voices on all levels is brought to its conclusion, and responsibility is clearly placed with the agents themselves and their faith.[24] It is this personal liberty and independent critical thinking that the abstract layer of the satire promotes throughout day 4 with the help of a double antithesis, namely between the narrative and the frame, on the one hand, and within the frame discussions, on the other.[25] The "itinerary" becomes more explicit as the day progresses, as illustrated by Parlamente's insistence on the supremacy of personal reflection and experience over *exempla* in tale 37:

> "Voilà, dit Oisille, un exemple qui doit servir à toutes les femmes mariées." "Il prendra cet exemple qui voudra, dit Parlamente, mais quant à moi, il ne me serait possible d'avoir si longue patience car, combien qu'en tous états patience soit une belle vertu, j'ai opinion qu'en mariage amène en fin inimitié […]."—"Mais il y a danger, dit Ennasuite, que la femme impatiente trouve un mari furieux qui lui donnera douleur en lieu de patience." (322; 360)

Much like with Oisille's aforementioned homogeneous readings of tales 37 and 38, this is where the "beauty of rhetoric" is rejected in a text that, like Lucian's and Rabelais's, playfully insists on a veracity that is situated in the moral domain rather than in the realm of *realia*. And this is where the real "ill of society" can be found. The persuasive powers of rhetoric can be manipulated too easily; hence the importance of a "multiplicity" of voices that is actually a main message of this bipolar structure in general and the dialogic frame

24 For a different angle on this topic, see Mary B. McKinley, "Telling Secrets: Sacramental Confession and Narrative Authority in the *Heptaméron*," in *Critical Tales: New Studies of the* Heptameron *and Early Modern Culture*, eds. John D. Lyons and Mary B. McKinley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 146–71.

25 This structure and intent also set apart the tales from the genre of the *Histoire tragique* as defined by Campangne, "Marguerite de Navarre."

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narrative in particular, rather than an obstacle to an imaginary unified factual lesson in the conventional didactic universe of the *exemplum*.[26]

The univocity of the exemplary tales is thus countered by the polysemy of the ensuing discussions, a threefold dialogic exchange (tale/discussion; fictional narrators/their audience; text/readers), whose main factual lesson is the search for *mediocritas* and the insistence on the flaws of all human action, even if sanctioned by the highest judiciary, religious, or political bodies. The satirical attack far exceeds any concrete targets, as it attempts to get to the root of an evil to be eradicated instead of merely dealing with the ill's symptoms, a trait of most of the great satires of the period and one that Des Périers favored in the *Cymbalum mundi*, one might argue.[27] Blind submission and obedience are the ills that satire attacks very subtly in order to administer a cure leading to independent critical thinking rooted in what Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples defines as "vive foi," a precept of evangelical ethics that would redefine the notion of exemplarity in a less orthodox fashion, quite a daring undertaking coming from the king's sister.[28]

In my perspective, this "vive foi" is turned into a perfect illustration of the satirical cure through another tripartite design: the morning readings from Scripture, whose beneficial impact was visible in Parlamente's statement in the prologue of day 4; the entertaining tales; and the ensuing debates that call

26 See, for example, the introduction in Simone de Reyff's edition of the tales: "Toutefois la multiplicité des points d'observation compromet la cohérence du message" (22) ["However, the multiplicity of points of view compromises the coherence of the message"]. This function is typical for the genre of the Renaissance dialogue, which peaks in the 1540s and 1550s; see Colette H. Winn, ed., *The Dialogue in Early Modern France, 1547–1630: Art and Argument* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1993), Anne Godard, *Le Dialogue à la Renaissance* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001), and Eva Kushner, *Le Dialogue à la Renaissance. Histoire et poétique* (Geneva: Droz, 2004).

27 See the contributions of Francis M. Higman, Jean-Claude Carron, Olivier Millet, Daniel Ménager, and Michèle Clément in *Le* Cymbalum mundi. *Actes du colloque de Rome* (*3–6 novembre 2000*), ed. Franco Giacone (Geneva: Droz, 2003). The repeated explicit rejection of *ad hominem* satire contributes to this more universal orientation of what aspires to the status of a *divina satyra*; see my "From *Satura* to *Satyre*," 386–87 and notes.

28 For the "vive foi," see Le Cadet, *L'Evangélisme fictionnel*, 29–31. Nora Viet, "*Caméron*, *Décaméron*, *Heptaméron*: La Genèse de *L'Heptaméron* au miroir des traductions françaises de Boccace," *Seizième Siècle* 8, 1 (2012), insists on the creation of a "recueil d'exempla moderne, empreint de la complexité et des doutes d'une époque nouvelle" (302), while retracing the interplay between monologism and dialogism at least partially to the different French translations of the *Decameron* at the queen's disposal.

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for the practical application of the theoretical didactics implied in the morning readings and enliven their evangelical teachings. In this way, the afternoon gatherings provide the real-life seasoning that Eusebius and Timotheus ascribe to the Bible readings in Erasmus's *Religious Banquet*, thus anchoring the *Heptaméron* firmly in the tradition of early modern symposia, an ideal breeding ground for satire.[29] Moreover, this structure seems indebted to the Lucianic *menippea* via its characteristic mixture of comedy and dialogue (as the Greek cynic explains himself), a variant of the *spoudogeloion* that further enhances the prominent status and the satirical intentionality of Marguerite's masterpiece while also affording it a protective veil.[30]

The satirical angle (and its hermeneutical implications) can thus help us understand what sets apart the *Heptaméron* from most other novella collections of the period (including Des Périers's) by dissecting its complex structure and by providing the theoretical framework for the productive criticism of existing norms that is one of the main concerns of the text. Its true pedagogical lesson is precisely the promotion of the *devisants's* skeptical attitude, through which the ideal reader is meant to impact its real-life counterpart. Furthermore, this line of thought would illustrate the Aristotelian concept of the "active mimesis," upon which Antoine Compagnon has recently insisted, or elucidate the difference between (factual) veracity and (moral) sincerity, at which Gérard Genette hints.[31] All these essential issues developed in the *Heptaméron* profit from the seriocomical mindset that the unique satirical mixture contributes to the text and its intentionality.

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29 See Michel Jeanneret, *Des mets et des mots* (Paris: Corti, 1987).

30 See Lucian, "To One Who Said 'You're a Prometheus in Words,'" in *Works*, vol. 6, ed. and trans. K. Kilburn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 417–27.

31 Compagnon, *Le Démon de la théorie*, chap. 3, especially 141–56; Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), 209–10.

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CHAPTER 5

Language Lessons: Homophones and Gender Confusion in Des Périers's *Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis*

Nicholas Shangler

Bring up the subject of communication and you are likely to hear the tired refrain that we live in an unprecedented era of instant global messaging via a dizzying array of Internet-based platforms. Nearly anyone can broadcast ideas that can be received by millions, and automated translation services can render expressions intelligible across countless languages. Though the digital technologies of today may be new, and they may seem far more advanced than those of previous generations, intense bursts in the evolution of means of communication happen repeatedly throughout history. During the sixteenth century, France experienced such a time of rapidly expanding ease and liberty of communication. The French vernacular rose in stature, surpassing Latin as the dominant language, and began to crystallize further into a more standard form that started to spread throughout the country and to assume new roles in law and social interaction.[1] The proliferation of printing presses accelerated the dissemination of new ideas to an increasingly literate population.[2] Writers, intellectuals, and public figures both taught and learned about the operation and regulation of language.[3] Yet, then as now, linguistic changes and mass communication did not guarantee the perfect transmission or reception of what a speaker intended to say. The perception of the Renaissance as

1 For more, see Peter Rickard. *A History of the French Language*. (London: Hutchinson, 1974).

2 On the printing press as an agent of change and reading habits of "the people," see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution In Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1975).

3 Works concerned with the diverse linguistic practices of the era multiplied during the Renaissance. See, for instance: Joachim du Bellay, *La Deffence, et illustration de la langue françoyse*, ed. Jean-Charles Monferran (Geneva: Droz, 2001); Etienne Dolet, *La Manière de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre* [Lyon: Dolet, 1540] (Cognac: Obsidiane, 1990); Henri Estienne, *Deux Dialogues du nouveau langage françois*, ed. Pauline M. Smith (Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 1980); Jacques Peletier du Mans. *Dialogue de lórtografe e prononciacion françoese*, ed. Lambert C. Porter (Geneva: Droz, 1966).

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marking the ascendancy of modern, easy communication is complicated by observers who highlighted the limitations and deficiencies of the vernacular.

The Renaissance writer Bonaventure Des Périers, like many of his contemporararies, used his writing as a vehicle for exploring the French vernacular and its influence in religious, political, and social life. This study examines problems of communication as they occur in several of the stories from his *Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis*, first published as a collection of ninety stories in 1558, though it would later be augmented with additional tales in subsequent print editions.[4] The humor in many of the *nouvelles* revolves around linguistic misunderstanding. Generally, the stories heavily favor dialogue between characters and limit the intervention of the narrative voice. The opposite is more frequently true in the subset of tales, three of which I will address here, where Des Périers appears to isolate and comment upon language and linguistic problems. Beyond laying out the general situation of each tale, the narrative voice interrupts and pedantically glosses the miscommunications and why they happened. But why? For as E. B. White wrote, "Humor can be dissected, as a frog can, but the thing dies in the process and the innards are discouraging to any but the pure scientific mind."[5] And the humor in the *Nouvelles Récréations* is obvious. This fact emphasizes the unique didactic function of the particular stories that investigate questions of language and context.

Several of the tales demonstrate that even employing the same language as one's interlocutor does not guarantee mutual comprehension. Comic communicative trouble in the *Nouvelles Récréations* results from a variety of problems. I will concentrate in this essay on stories that hinge on confusing homophones, two or more words having the same pronunciation but different meanings or spellings.[6] Des Périers employs these similar-sounding words to show that verbal, and sometimes even physical context often fail to reduce the ambiguity of an intended meaning. I will examine three of the tales—43, 46, and 52—that illustrate this problem in vernacular French.[7] I argue that Des

4 Bonaventure Des Périers. *Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis*, ed. Krystyna Kasprzyk (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1980). All references to this work are from this edition.

5 E. B. White. "Some Remarks on Humor," in *A Subtreasury of American Humor*, eds. E. B. White and Katharine S. White (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1941), xvii.

6 Other stories in the *Nouvelles Récréations* highlight other types of linguistic problems, including the "écumeurs de latin" (a sort of charlatan, who learns fragments of Latin and works them nonsensically into conversations to appear more educated than those around him) and the total dissolution of language into gibberish.

7 My commentary on these tales is founded upon my own close readings of the stories in question and my analysis of the linguistic issues at play. For this reason, I do not rely as heavily on

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Périers offers insights that reinforce for his readers the importance of purifying French by eliminating regional words and usages, establishing clear rules for spelling and grammar, and clarifying the etymologies of words derived from ancient languages. Further, although Des Périers himself may not have thought in such terms, we can also read in these three stories an early recognition of the intrinsic instability of the linguistic sign. Throughout the collection, the instances where an intended meaning goes astray ultimately serve to probe such far-reaching questions as: What is possible to express with words? What are the potential consequences of putting faith in the communicative ability of verbal language?

In order to situate my readings of the tales, it will be helpful to review some of what we know about Des Périers and several key historical events that likely informed his choice of the specific linguistic misunderstandings that he focuses on in his writing. Though exact details of his life are obscure, it is generally believed that Des Périers was born in Burgundy circa 1510.[8] He collaborated on Pierre Robert Olivétan's French translation of the Bible (published in 1535), though the extent of his input is not entirely clear. At some point during 1535, Des Périers appears in Lyon, assisting Etienne Dolet in the drafting of the *Commentarii linguae latinae* (1536). Also around that time, Des Périers apparently went into the service of a great lady, as yet unidentified, but then became *valet de chambre* to Marguerite de Navarre. Evidence traces Des Périers's activity through the end of October 1541. After that, silence, until Antoine du Moulin's 1544 publication of Des Périers's poetry and selected translations, in the *Recueil des œuvres de feu Bonaventure des Périers*, reveals his death at some moment in the intervening years.[9] Thus, the stories that make up the

secondary literature and criticism as I would in a different type of study. Most of my supporting citations are from dictionaries regarding claims that I make about specific words.

8 Peter Nurse writes that, "Parmi les écrivains de marque, il en est peu dont la vie soit restée aussi ignorée que celle de Bonaventure Des Périers" ["Among the important writers, there are few whose lives have remained as little known as that of Bonaventure Des Périers"]. Bonaventure Des Périers. *Cymbalum mundi*, ed. Peter Nurse (Geneva: Droz, 1983), vii.

9 Antoine du Moulin, *Recueil des œuvres de feu Bonaventure Des Périers* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1544). In her edition of the *Nouvelles Récréations*, Kasprzyk devotes only a short perfunctory paragraph to biographical notes about Des Périers, in which she relies on the work of previous scholars. I have largely based the biographical information here on details provided by Bénédicte Boudou in her recent study of the *nouvelles*: Bénédicte Boudou and Olivier Halévy, *Bonaventure Des Périers. Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis* (Paris: Atlande, 2008), 27–34; and the synthesis by James W. Hassell of earlier research by other scholars: James Woodrow Hassell, *Sources and Analogues of the* Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis *of Bonaventure Des Périers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957–70).

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original *nouvelles* collection, though published in 1558, were almost certainly composed by Des Périers between 1535 and 1544, during part of which time he worked for the sister of King François 1er.

During this same period, François 1er was on a mission to unify the loosely joined provinces of France. As a critical component of his project to solidify royal power, he sought to implement a Parisian variety of the French vernacular as the vehicle for all judicial administration. In addition to working to eradicate regionalisms in French, this strategy was also designed to wrest as much control as possible from the Latin-speaking Catholic Church. Two royal edicts in this period illuminate the changes in royal language policy with regard to the vernacular. In 1535, the Ordonnance d'Is-sur-Tille prescribed that all judicial acts "seront faictz en françoys ou à tout le moins en vulgaire dudict pays" ["will be done in French or at the very least in the local vernacular of that region"].[10] The addition of "à tout le moins" ["at the very least"] indicates a hierarchy privileging the king's French over regional dialects. In 1539, however, the king signed into law an even more definitive statute, the Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts.[11] This time, regarding the language of judicial processes, the law reads that they "soyent prononcez, enregistrez et delivrez aux parties en langage maternel françois, et non autrement" (Article 111) ["be pronounced, recorded and delivered to all parties in the native French language and not otherwise"], and that "nous voulons et ordonnons qu'ilz soient faitz et escriptz si clairement, quil ny ait ni puisse avoir aucune ambiguite ou incertitude ne lieu a en demander interpretation" (Article 110) ["we want and order that they be conducted and written so clearly that there not be, nor may be, any ambiguity or uncertainty, nor room for interpretation"]. These edicts explicitly raised questions about how people across France spoke and how different speakers coped with the evolving French vernacular.

Des Périers explored these same questions through his humorous tales. Tale 43, "De la jeune fille qui ne vouloit point d'un mary: pour ce qu'il avoit mangé le dos de sa premiere femme" ["Of the young woman who wanted nothing to do

10 Ordonnance d'Is-sur-Tille d'octobre 1535 (Antoine Fontanon, *Édits et ordonnances des rois de France depuis Saint Louis jusqu'à présent* [Paris: J. Dupuis, 1611], 307, cited by Jean-Marie Carbasse, "Langue de la nation et 'idiomes grossiers': Le Pluralisme linguistique sous le niveau Jacobin," in *Libertés, pluralisme et droit. Une Approche historique. Actes du colloque d'Anvers, mai 1993*, eds. H. Goethem et al. (Brussels: Bruylant, 1995), 158. This and subsequent translations are my own.

11 Isambert, François-André et al., *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*, vol. XII, 1514–1546 (Paris: Belin-Le Prieur, 1828), 622–23, Articles 110 and 111.

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with a husband because he had eaten his first wife's back"] tells of the arranged marriage proposed for a young woman from Lyon. The potential groom is a widower with a reputation for acting irresponsibly. Specifically, some people question the way he managed the dowry of his first wife. During the family's discussions about the possible nuptials, the young *Lyonnaise* secretly listens at the door. One of the speakers proclaims that the widower is "un homme de mauvais gouvernement: Il ha mangé le dot de sa premiere femme" (180) ["a man of poor management ability: he ate through the dowry of his first wife"]. The naïve eavesdropping young woman misunderstands, "et pensoit qu'on eust dict que cest homme eust mangé le dos ou l'eschine de sa femme" (181) ["and thought that it was said that this man had eaten the back or spine of his wife"]. Terrified, she runs to her mother and cries, "c'est le plus mauvais homme, Il avoit une femme qu'il ha faict mourir. Il luy ha mangé le dos" (181) ["he's the worst man, he had a wife that he caused to die. He ate her back"]. The narrator reports that everyone got a good laugh out of her confusion. Her family ultimately concludes that she was correct in refusing the man, even though her exact fear proved groundless.

The first two sentences of Tale 43 announce Des Périers's intention to foreground questions of language.

> A propos de ambiguité de motz qui gist en la prolation, les Françoys ont une façon de prononcer assez douce: tellement que de la pluspart de leurs parolles on n'entend point la derniere lettre. Dont bien souvent les motz se prendroyent les uns pour les aultres, si ce n'estoit qu'ilz s'entendent par la signification des aultres qui sont parmy. (180)
>
> [With regard to the ambiguity of words that lies in pronunciation, the French have a soft manner of speaking, such that for the majority of their words one does not hear the final letter. Thus, very often the words would be mistaken for one another, if it were not for the fact that they are understood by the meaning of others around them.]

The narrator immediately calls attention to the ambiguity that lies in the pronunciation of certain words. The expressions "les Françoys" and "leurs parolles" serve to mark him as an outsider. He separates himself from "the French" to convince the reader that, though he speaks French, he has the necessary remove to judge its qualities accurately and to demonstrate and explain its apparent shortcomings.

There is also a subtle yet significant reversal in the second sentence. The narrator employs the conditional tense, "se prendroyent," to indicate that there

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would be much more trouble with the confusion of homophones if it were not for the context to aid in determining meaning. Yet the very statement that aims to reassure the reader that this unsettling aspect of language is generally benign acts to subvert its surface meaning. For if the problem with a word is that its sense can be obscure or multiple, the necessary dependence upon other equally fallible words only exacerbates the instability of language as a system.

Words are not, however, the only culprits. Des Périers lays much of the blame for the protagonist's misunderstanding upon her own shoulders. The description of her provides very little information, thus giving the reader only a one-dimensional image. "Il y avoit en la ville de Lyon une jeune fille qu'on vouloit marier à un homme qui avoit eu une aultre femme" (180) ["In the city of Lyon there was a young woman who was wanted to be married to a man who had had another wife"]. At this point, we know more about the potential husband than we do the woman. All we know of her is that she is "young." When she overhears that the man "ha mangé le dot de sa premiere femme" ["had eaten through the dowry of his first wife"], the narrator tells us why she misunderstands. "Ceste jeune fille ouyt ceste parolle qu'elle n'entendoit point telle que l'aultre l'entendoit, Car elle estoit jeune: et n'avoit point encores ouy dire ce mot de dot, Lequel ilz dissent en certains endroits de ce Royaume, et principallement en Lyonnois, pour douaire" (180) ["This young woman heard this word that she did not understand in the way that the other meant it, because she was young, and had not yet heard this word 'dot' which people say in certain parts of this kingdom, and especially in Lyon, for dowry"]. If the woman had heard the word 'dot' before, or if she knew enough Latin to recognize the common derivation of both 'dot' and 'douaire' from *dos*, *dotis*, the language would have been sufficient.[12] By emphasizing her youth and naïveté, the narrator gives responsibility to the hearer rather than the speaker. This passage represents an attempt to rehabilitate language, placing at least partial blame for the miscommunication on the language users rather than wholly faulting the language itself.

12 The word "dot" is now feminine and the final "t" is pronounced; however, in the sixteenth century, the word was masculine and the final "t" was not pronounced. Both "dot" and "douaire" derive from Latin, *dos, dotis* (*Trésor de la langue française informatisé* (*TLFi*), Nancy, CNRS, ATILF (Analyse et traitement informatique de la langue française), UMR CNRS-Université Nancy 2 (http://atilf.atilf.fr/). Nina Catach confirms the homophony at this time, particularly in the regional variant that Des Périers references: "*dot*, 1549–1606 dost n. m. [...] emprunté au latin juridique *dos, dot*(*em*)," "don: le mot se trouve d'abord dans le Midi et le Lyonnais" (Nina Catach. *Dictionnaire historique de l'orthographe française* [Paris: Larousse, 1995], 374).

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Furthermore, the young woman has broken some basic behavioral rules. "Quand il fut question de parler de ce marriage, la jeune fille s'y trouva en cachettes derriere quelque porte, pour ouyr ce qu'on en diroit" (181) ["When it came to speaking of this marriage, the young girl hid herself behind a door to hear what was being said"]. The participants in the conversation about the marriage never intended to include the young woman. She hides herself from view for the express subversive purpose of hearing what she is not supposed to hear. The context of the comment about the first wife's dowry is shared only among the invited interlocutors. Their utterances, though sufficient among the group of speakers, are not informative enough for the eavesdropping young woman to understand. Des Périers capitalizes upon the essential verbs *ouir* and *entendre* to reinforce this situation. He tells us that the young woman "ouyt ceste parolle qu'elle n'entendoit point telle que l'aultre l'entendoit." Both verbs mean "to hear." *Entendre*, however, also means "to understand." Hearing the word that the speaker said, she understands it to mean "back," whereas he means "dowry."

Having broached the subject of the nebulous nature of language, Des Périers cleverly takes advantage of misdirection and opacity of meaning to hint at other related concerns. Problems of language and communication do not exist in isolation, tucked away in instructional tales and grammar manuals. Des Périers puts his focus on the ambiguity of words as a motive for crafting this story. But the young girl must act furtively, sneaking around and attempting to pry into matters that, in her parents' estimation, are none of her concern. This scenario allows the author to illustrate how language may inform social divisions. The context of what we might call in-speak, words or knowledge shared only by a certain group, is a powerful force in all of our human interactions that has consequences far larger than a young girl being scared off from a potential suitor.[13]

A more complex case of mistaking one word for another arises in Tale 46, "Du tailleur qui se desroboit soymesmes, et du drap gris qu'il rendit à son compere le chaussetier" ["Of the tailor who cheated himself, and of the gray cloth that he returned to his friend the hosier"]. While this tailor sells the clothes he makes by the price of the amount of fabric used, he habitually short-changes his customers by giving them less material than the amount for which they

13 For more on the French *nouvelle* in general and particularly its revelation of the legal and economic roles of women and marriage in society, see David La Guardia, *The Iconography of Power: The French "Nouvelle" at the End of the Middle Ages*. Cranberry, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1999.

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have paid.[14] He makes a coat out of gray cloth for one of his friends, reserving a quarter of the cloth for which he has charged the man. The friend later stops by to visit, and the tailor invites him to come upstairs for a meal, telling his apprentice, "apporte moy ce gril qui est là bas" (191) ["bring me that grill that is down there"]. By *gril* the tailor means a small grill, on which he plans to cook the repast. The apprentice thinks that his master wants the *gris*, the gray cloth left over from the coat, and so brings that instead. The friend then accuses the tailor of stealing, but the tailor responds indignantly, retorting that it is clear that he had the remaining cloth brought out in order to return it. The text ends with a sentence analyzing the miscommunication. "La faulte vint, que l'apprentis avoit toujours ouy dire grille en feminin, et non pas gril" (191) ["The problem arose because the apprentice had always heard *grille* said in the feminine, and not *gril*"]. Thus, we learn that the apprentice would have recognized that the tailor was referring to the stove if the word had been in the feminine, *grille*,[15] which would alter the demonstrative adjective—"cette" instead of "ce"—and possibly the pronunciation. Instead, the silent consonants on the ends of both *gris* and *gril* cause the words to sound identical.[16] Without any further indication that the tailor wants the stove, the apprentice misunderstands and brings the gray cloth.

Here, the potential for ambiguity in the pronunciation of different words first gets the tailor into trouble and then, in turn, ironically helps him escape the very same trouble. Of note in this tale of the tailor, as opposed to Tale 43

14 Tale 46, though it alludes to the proverbial idea of tailors as thieves and would likely have reminded readers of *La Farce de Maître Pathelin*, appears to have no specific source. (Hassell, *Sources and Analogues*, 2:18) Des Périers greatly enhances the basic framework of the story to emphasize the complexity of the operation of language, weaving into the text a network of puns and wordplay, thus highlighting linguistic ambiguity.

15 At this time, *un gril* and *une grille* could be synonymous despite the gender difference: "La documentation enregistre le sens de *gril* comme synonyme de *grille*." (*TLFi*) It is clear from the misunderstanding around which this tale centers that, at least for some speakers, they could be homophonous as well. Catach, who also draws on empirical evidence from the *Nouvelles Récréations* in her discussion of *dot*, makes no such explicit comment upon regional variations for *gril/grille*. However, the tailor in Tale 46 is from Poitiers, so it is possible that the author is alluding to a local pronunciation.

16 Various dictionaries disagree as to the correct pronunciation of *gril*, specifically whether or not the final consonant is pronounced. It appears that most prefer the final consonant to be silent as the base form, which would be homophonous with *gris*, even in modern French. (*TLFi*: "Forme sans consonne finale, [gri], dans tous les dictionnaires consultés, seule, ou associée à une forme avec consonne finale, et dans ce cas, pour autant que les indications à cet égard soient claires, comme la forme de base. Seuls WARN. 1968 et Lar. Lang. fr. préfèrent leur forme avec consonne finale, [gril].").

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about the young woman from Lyon, is the effect of the scenario on the reader's interpretation of the miscommunication. The tailor's business practices, though presented with the *Nouvelles Récréations's* characteristic joviality and humor, are nonetheless criminal. The reader first thinks that the tailor will be caught and punished for his deception. Not so. The tailor adroitly turns the ambiguity of the words to his advantage and, "se voyant descouvert, luy va dire: 'Et penses tu que je te le voulsisse retenir? toy qui es mon compere: ne vois tu pas bien que je l'ay faict apporter pour te le rendre? On luy espargne son drap, encores dit il qu'on le luy desrobe'" (191) ["seeing himself discovered, says to the other: 'And do you think that I wanted to keep it from you? You who are my friend; don't you see that I had it brought in order to return it to you? One saves his cloth for him, and still he says that one is stealing it from him'"]. The tailor plays the situation off as though he had indeed instructed his apprentice to bring the *gris*, the gray cloth. He exploits linguistic ambiguity to save himself from having to admit to his dishonesty. By showing how such confusion can mask a crime, Des Périers implicitly evokes fears about the ramifications of language breaking down.

Finally, in Tale 52, an impertinent Parisian woman boasts to a man that she controls her husband and household. The man asserts that if she were his wife, he would put her in her place. "Vous? disoit elle: il vous faudroit passer par là aussi bien comme des aultres" (205) ["You? she said: you would have to do as you're told just like the others"]. In response to her dismissive reply, the man says, "asseurez vous que je sçay deux poinctz pour avoir la raison d'une femme" (206) ["Rest assured that I know two points for persuading a woman"]. She presses him to reveal what these points, or arguments, are, and he makes a fist, first with one hand and then with the other. "En voyla un … et voyla l'aultre" (206) ["Here's one … and here's the other"]. Much laughter ensues, with the woman "prenant poings de poinct" (206) ["hearing points for fists"] while "l'aultre entendoit poings de poing" (206) ["the other meant fists for fists"]. She expected to hear two new reasons that will make women listen to their husbands, but the man meant something quite different and made two fists.

The reader may notice that the man says "poinctz" (points, reasons) when he is introducing his reasons, rather than using any of the possible synonyms. We should also note that in his dialogue in the story it is never written that the man says "poings" (fists). We can assume that he must be conscious of the play on words that he will soon make, taking advantage of the homophones *poings* (fists) and *poinctz* (reasons).[17] Hearing this story read aloud would be quite

17 The word *poing* derives from the Latin *pugnus* (wrist), and the word *point* derives from the Latin *punctum* (a sharp tip of any part of the anatomy; a point or other small

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a different experience from reading it. The reader of the story sees the word "poinctz" in the man's speech, differentiating the word from the homophone on which the action hinges. Someone listening to the story, without the benefit of seeing the words on the page, would be more susceptible to the ambiguity from the outset. In Tales 43 and 46, the characters do not appear to be aware of the potential for misunderstanding their utterances until after the misunderstanding has happened. In Tale 52, however, the conscious manipulation and exploitation of homophones by the man reinforces the message that the ambiguity of language can simultaneously obscure and multiply meaning. He deliberately deviates from any notion of cooperative speech in order to set the woman up for the joke he intends to make.

Des Périers crafts the stories in the *Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis* such that his characters both exploit and reflect upon the words that they employ. Their experiences with linguistic ambiguity offer language lessons to each other and to the astute reader. Throughout the different tales, an overarching concern is whether, and how, meaning may be transparent despite the opacity of sense created by words with variable gender, non-standard spelling or pronunciation, or distinct words with a common root. The trouble that the inhabitants of Des Périers's fictional world encounter in their verbal intercourse reflects the types of issues that the French monarch's project to establish a uniform *langage françois* aimed to eradicate. The growing implementation of a standard form of the vernacular could not fulfill its implicit promise of easy, unambiguous communication unless it overcame muddled etymologies and displaced regional usages. But would even that be enough? By pushing his characters' language to the point where intelligibility suffers, such as through the multiplication of plays on homophones, Des Périers offers his readers, both early modern and modern, insights into language as a construct. These tales demonstrate that verbal language is such that the words used to utter an expression may have little to do with whether the expression results in effective communication. It is the multiplicity of meaning that is problematic when a given utterance allows for different people to draw equally plausible but totally separate conclusions about what a speaker intends. When what is real depends upon how that reality is expressed and interpreted, language lessons are the most fundamental learning.

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area) (*TLFi*). Both *pugnus* and *punctum* are etymologically related to the Latin *pungere* (to prick) and are near cognates with the Ancient Greek πυγμή (fist): "pungo, pŭpŭgi, punctum, 1. root pug-, to thrust, strike, whence also pugil, pugnus; Gr. πύξ, etc., to prick, puncture" (Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879]. Online. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu. n.d. Web. October 30, 2015).

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CHAPTER 6

The Dido Effect and the Rise of the French Novel[1]

Virginia Krause

Hélisenne de Crenne's *Les Angoysses douloureuses qui procedent d'amours* (1538) consists of three seemingly disparate parts. The first, confessional, is narrated by the female protagonist, Hélisenne, who relates the physical and emotional torments she endures for her adulterous passion. The second, bellicose, is driven by the quest undertaken by Hélisenne's beloved Guénélic, who sets out to find her after she is imprisoned by her jealous husband, and in so doing assumes the narrative first person, although he ultimately relates less his military triumphs than his own "anxietez douloureuses."[2] The third, relating the lovers' reunion, repentance, and subsequent death, is mostly narrated by Guénélic, although his friend Quézinstra takes over the narration in the final pages. In the process, adulterous passion is morally condemned in the first part, redeemed by the chivalric quest in the second part, and then repudiated by a penitential register in the third part, which is subsequently belied by the fate of the lovers, who are reunited in the Champs Hélisiens. Guénélic's lack of martial zeal in Part 2 makes his status similarly ambiguous: Is he a melancholic hero best suited to pining for his Lady, or a chivalric anti-hero unable to display the martial zeal expected of aristocratic men?[3] More fundamentally, is it possible to pinpoint a stable authorial position beneath this work's shifting narrators, themes, and modes? Is there a single principle at work, somehow infusing the disconcerting architecture of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* with unity and meaning?

1 I wish to thank Gary Ferguson for the suggestions he generously made after hearing an earlier version of this paper.

2 *Les Angoysses douloureuses qui procedent d'amours*, ed. Christine de Buzon (Paris: Champion, 1997), 231. All quotations will be from this edition. To distinguish between the three parts of the work, subsequent references will be included within the text and will use the acronyms *AD* I–III followed by the page numbers. Translations will be cited from *The Torments of Love*, trans. Lisa Neal and Steven Rendall (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

3 On the ambivalent status of Guénélic's heroism, see Jean-Philippe Beaulieu, "Où est le héros? La vacuité de la quête chevaleresque dans les *Angoysses douloureuses d'Hélisenne de Crenne*," in *Héroïsme et démesure dans la littérature de la Renaissance: Les Avatars de l'épopée*, ed. Denise Alexandre (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1998), 69–79.

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Attempting to find the unity of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* has duly preoccupied critics perplexed by this work's seemingly transient truths.[4] A kind of consensus emerged in the wake of Gustave Reynier's influential notion of "sentimental romance."[5] This notion has proven to have heuristic value for scholars, but it does not help us to understand the place *Les Angoysses douloureuses* occupied in the literary landscape of early modern France. There was, of course, no genre known as "sentimental romance" at the time. More recently, Christine de Buzon has argued that the work's unity is to be found in the "style piteux" employed throughout the three parts.[6] But stylistic coherence in *Les Angoysses douloureuses* does not necessarily elucidate its generic status or explain its architecture.

This difficulty situating *Les Angoysses douloureuses* in the literary landscape of early modern France is not the sign of a general failure on the part of scholars, but rather a symptom of the uncertain status of what we, today, would term the early novel. The novel was not a clearly delineated genre at the time: as a result, many of what we term the period's "novels" or "romances," including *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, fall into a generic no-man's land. Absent from the classificatory systems of classical rhetoric and poetics, the novel was not yet the object of genre theory in France, either.[7] In the history of the French novel, the Renaissance constitutes a murky prehistory before seventeenth-century taxonomies arrived to impose order on unmanageable fictions by distinguishing the "roman de chevalerie" from the "roman héroïque," or the "histoire comique" from the "nouvelle galante."[8]

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4 See Martine Debaisieux, who examines accusations that the work lacked coherence. "Subtilitez féminines: L'art de la contradiction dans l'œuvre d'Hélisenne de Crenne," *Études Littéraires* 27, 2 (1994), 25–37. Henri Coulet, for instance, laments what he terms an awkward construction, with the second part interrupting the sentimental plot advanced in the first part. *Le Roman jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1967), 105.

5 Gustave Reynier declared *Les Angoysses douloureuses* to be France's first sentimental romance while regretting that the work as a whole should be "si peu cohérent dans sa composition." *Le Roman sentimental avant* L'Astrée (Paris: Armand Colin, 1908), 122.

6 "L'Allure *romanesque des Angoysses douloureuses d'Hélisenne de Crenne," in Le Roman français au XVI^e siècle ou le renouveau d'un genre dans le contexte européen*, eds. Michèle Clément and Pascale Mounier (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2005), 207.

7 Theorization of the novel happened sooner in Italy, beginning in 1554 when Giraldi and Pigna elaborated an art of the *romanzo*. See Pascale Mounier, *Le Roman humaniste: Un Genre novateur français, 1532–1564* (Paris: Champion, 2007), 96–97.

8 Pierre Huet, *Lettre sur l'origine des romans* [1669] (Paris: Nizet, 1971); Charles Sorel, *De la connaissance des bons livres* [1671], ed. Hervé D. Bechade (Geneva: Slatkine, 1981).

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The generic undecidability of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* and other works we would term "novel" or "romance" did not, however, prove to be a handicap for this nascent form. In fact, as Pascale Mounier observes, the absence of a clearly defined theoretical framework invited innovation, enabling what she terms the humanist "new novel" to absorb a vertiginous array of literary forms. An anti-generic motor drove these works, she argues, offering writers an experimental literary field unhampered by rigorous codification.[9] The proto-novel was thus free to invent itself as it went along. My purpose in the following pages is to observe the process of invention at work in *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, which imitates established genres without fully conforming to their rules. Examining some of the overlapping generic identifications and poetic principles that drive this work reveals the making of an early novel; it also offers privileged insight into the project of vernacular humanism ca. 1538: its aspirations and ideals as well as its most basic literary operations.

Scholars working to identify Hélisenne de Crenne's sources have brought to light her primary literary models: vernacular works including Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Illustrations de Gaule*, Antoine de La Sale's *Jehan de Saintré*, Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiametta*, and Caviceo's *El Peregrino* (Buzon, "Introduction," 31–36). Less tangible are the implicit ideals that infuse *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, which is not simply a patchwork of citations from these works. First and foremost among these ideals is what I will be describing as the work's epic aspirations. For it was partly through rewriting epic—the highest aspiration of vernacular humanism for this generation—that Hélisenne de Crenne fashioned a literary work remembered today as an early novel. In this way, *Les Angoysses douloureuses* bears the traces of what Françoise Charpentier has eloquently termed "le désir d'épopée"—particularly strong in the years between 1530 and 1540, which were characterized by a sense of expectation or even longing for epic. As a result, she suggests, epic passed over literary works from this period in something resembling a reflection, leaving signs, markers, and epithets.[10]

9 "Parce qu'il n'a pas de cadre théorique à respecter, il [le nouveau roman de la Renaissance] peut imiter toutes sortes de modèles [...] La force antigénérique qui le travaille et qui lui donne une nature hybride ne conduit pas à une dissolution des contours de ses énoncés englobants, mais à la juxtaposition affichée de ceux-ci." Mounier, *Le Roman humaniste*, 287.

10 "Le Désir d'épopée," *Revue de littérature comparée* 4 (1996), esp. 420–24. Charpentier does not mention *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, but many of her observations could be applied to this work as well. For an excellent assessment of the degree to which epic shaped art and literature from this period, see Phillip John Usher, *Epic Arts in Renaissance France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

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Looking for signs of a desire for epic in *Les Angoysses douloureuses* constitutes the first stage in my itinerary.

Les Angoysses douloureuses: Renaissance Epic?

Twentieth-century theorists from Georg Lukács and Mikhail Bakhtin to Fredric Jameson tend to set novel and epic back-to-back, as though the novel could be grasped only in relation to epic, each genre being the antithesis of the other.[11] Yet Renaissance works from *Amadis de Gaule* to *L'Astrée* reach toward the commensurability and even the affinity of what we distinguish as novel and epic.[12] Humanists dreamt of a marriage between classical epic and medieval romance, of drawing from the great medieval *French* romances a perfect *French* epic in the classical tradition.[13] The difficulty of actually producing

11 Georg Lukács, *Theory of the Novel*, trans. Anna Bostock (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971); Bakhtin wrote a series of essays on the topic, including "Epic and Novel," "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse," "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," and "Discourse in the Novel," published in a collection titled *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); Fredric Jameson, "Magical Narratives: On the Dialectical Use of Genre Criticism," *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 103–50. Compare to Christian Thorne, who suggests a latent compatibility between epic and the novel by breaking down the chronological divide separating long-ago epic and the "modern" (or "classic") novel: epic is, he argues, compatible with more contemporary concerns, and allegory is not foreign to the novel. *The Grassy-Green Sea*, http://emc.eserver.org/1-5/thorne.html.

12 As Kathleen Wine observes, "despite the epic-romance dichotomy, in the early modern period the two genres significantly overlapped." *Forgotten Virgo: Humanism and Absolutism in Honoré d'Urfé's* L'Astrée (Geneva: Droz, 2000). See also Marian Rothstein, "Le Genre du roman à la Renaissance," *Études françaises* 32, 1 (1996), 35–47, and *Reading in the Renaissance:* Amadis de Gaule *and the Lessons of Memory* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999).

13 Du Bellay writes: "choysi moy quelque un de ces beaux vieulx Romans Françoys, comme un *Lancelot*, un *Tristan*, ou autres: et en fay renaitre au monde un admirable *Iliade*, et laborieuse *Eneide*." *La Deffence, et illustration de la langue françoyse*, ed. Jean-Charles Monferran (Geneva: Droz, 2001), 139. Du Bellay here echoes Jacques Peletier du Mans, who suggested using medieval romance as the raw material of a new epic poem: "Et dirai bien ici en passant, qu'en quelques-uns d'iceux [de romans] bien choisis, le Poète Héroïque pourra trouver à faire son profit: comme sont les aventures des Chevaliers, les amours, les voyages, les enchantements, les combats, et semblables choses." "Art poétique," *Traités de poétique et de rhétorique de la Renaissance*, ed. Francis Goyet (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990), 310. All subsequent quotes from Peletier will be from this edition.

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an epic was, however, one of the dramas defining the period.[14] Herberay des Essarts's adaptation of *Amadis de Gaule* (1540–48) was announced and initially received as epic, but with its subsequent disgrace some twenty years later came an eclipse of its epic dimensions and a fall to a more humble status.[15] Despite the fanfare, Ronsard abandoned his *Franciade* (1572) before its completion. Finally, although scholars such as Edwin Duval and Gérard Defaux have made a compelling case for reading Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532) as a work fashioned according to an epic design, there is little evidence to suggest that this is how it was received at the time.[16] If *Les Angoysses douloureuses* has been largely left out of recent work on epic, it is perhaps because the appeal to a female reading public in the first part ("O tres cheres dames," *AD* I, 97) seems an unlikely beginning for that most virile of genres, epic. Yet we should allow neither the feminine point of view adopted in the first part nor the sentimental discourse with which it is most associated to obscure the epic horizon of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*.

The first sign of epic is the heroine's identification with Dido, who fairly haunts the work of Hélisenne de Crenne. The story of Dido is ever-present between the lines of the first part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, which relates the heroine's passion for a handsome young man, her despair, and even

14 See Gary Ferguson, "Reviving Epic in Renaissance France: Ronsard, Jamyn, and other Homers," in *(Re)inventing the Past: Essays on French Early Modern Culture, Literature and Thought in Honour of Ann Moss*, eds. Gary Ferguson and Catherine Hampton (Durham: University of Durham Press, 2003), 125–52; Marian Rothstein, "Homer for the Court of François I," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59, 3 (2006), 732–36; and Ullrich Langer, "Boring Epic in Early Modern France," in *Epic and Epoch: Essays on the Interpretation and History of a Genre*, eds. Steven Oberhelman, Van Kelly, and Richard Golsan (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1994), 208–29.

15 See Rothstein, who interprets *Amadis's* fall from grace as the consequence of changing social realities and ideals pertaining to "love and war." *Reading in the Renaissance*, 129–44. Michel Simonin chronicles the reception of *Amadis de Gaule*, from its initial success to its subsequent "disgrace," in "La Disgrâce d'Amadis," *Studi Francesi* 28 (1984), 1–35.

16 Edwin Duval, *The Design of Rabelais's* Pantagruel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Gérard Defaux, *Le Curieux, le glorieux et la sagesse du monde dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle: L'Exemple de Panurge* (*Ulysse, Démosthène, Empédocle*) (Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1982). Other critics describe Rabelaisian fictions as "mock epic." See Patricia Eichel-Lojkine, *Excentricité et humanisme: Parodie, dérision et détournement des codes à la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 179–200; Guy Demerson, "Paradigmes épiques chez Rabelais," in *Rabelais en son demi-millénaire*, Études Rabelaisiennes 21, eds. Jean Céard and Jean-Claude Margolin (Geneva: Droz, 1988), 225–36; and Hope Glidden, "L'Épopée décalée de Rabelais," in *Plaisir de l'épopée*, ed. Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani (Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2000), 311–28.

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suicide attempts. The suicide that never takes place (each time Hélisenne attempts to take her own life, her efforts are thwarted) recalls the fate of the Queen of Carthage, cited as an example of fatal passion: "Mais par ceste passion sont mors […] Dido et Phillis: lesquelles par amour violentement leurs vies finerent" (*AD* II, 243) ["Dido and Phyllis, who for love ended violently their lives …" (*Torments*, 84)]. While scholars have examined Hélisenne's identification with Dido in the first part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, they have largely passed over how this identification resonates within the tradition of epic—the most prestigious genre for humanists.[17] Dido is, in fact, one of a number of epic prototypes found in *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, including Ulysses (154, 246, 251, 259, 323, 389), Ajax (251), Hector (295, 336, 355, 378), and, of course, Aeneas (213, 246, 247, 251, 362, 433). Taken together, these references constitute the most visible features of what I will be describing as this work's underlying epic landscape. Using Jacques Peletier du Mans's treatise *Art poétique* (1555), which contains a concise commentary on epic topoï, we can identify at least part of this epic landscape. Hélisenne de Crenne treats nearly all of the topoï that Peletier identifies as the markers of great epic, making *Les Angoysses douloureuses* a work surprisingly consonant with contemporary expectations for epic.

The first trait singled out by Peletier is war—the privileged material of epic.[18] Warlike deeds are similarly announced as the explicit theme when the second part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* shifts to a more bellicose register in relating the "œuvres belliqueuses et louables entreprinses" undertaken by Guénélic and his companion Quézinstra.[19] While Guénélic may not correspond to the

17 With the notable exception of Wood, who observes that Hélisenne de Crenne blurs the distinction between epic and the novel. She further describes *Les Angoysses douloureuses* as "sentimentalized epic." *Hélisenne de Crenne: At the Crossroads of Renaissance Humanism and Feminism* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 143 and 151. On Hélisenne's identification with Dido, see Wood, *Hélisenne de Crenne*, 143–51; Debaisieux, "Subtilitez feminines," 35–36; and Buzon, "Introduction," *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, 22.

18 "L'Œuvre Héroïque est celui qui donne le prix, et le vrai titre de Poète. Et si est de tel conte et de tel honneur: qu'une Langue n'est pour passer en célébrité vers les Siècles: sinon qu'elle ait traité le Sujet Héroïque: qui sont les guerres" (Peletier, 305) ["The epic work is the one that wins the prize and confers the true title of Poet. It is of such significance and such honor that a Language cannot become immortal throughout the Centuries unless it has treated the epic subject, that is, wars"].

19 "Car vous debvez croire que d'ung aspirant desir, suis excitée de divulguer et manifester aulcunes œuvres belliqueuses et louables entreprinses" (*AD* II, 228) ["You must believe I am moved by an aspiring desire to divulge and make clear some warlike and praiseworthy enterprises" (*Torments*, 77)].

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stereotypical epic hero, the second part nevertheless relates ample heroic exploits and several war sequences, with detailed descriptions of the knights, their armor, and their maneuvers on the battlefield, all of which are indispensable, according to Peletier (300). Following epic conventions, the next trait after war that Peletier associates with epic is the poet's evocation of the muses (305). By twice invoking Calliope (*AD* II, 280 and 310), Hélisenne de Crenne unequivocally signals the epic horizon of her work. Peletier further emphasizes the emotional swings—passing from joy to sadness—that make the epic poem more captivating.[20] It is not necessary to stress the importance of strong emotions in a work titled *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, but one should also note its abrupt shifts from joy to sadness as one of the mechanisms associated with epic.[21]

Other signature themes of epic for Peletier include friendship (311) and hospitality (312).[22] Both of these ethical concerns are privileged in the second and third parts of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, where the friendship between Quézinstra and Guénélic moves to center stage and where, in the course of their travels, the two friends are either welcomed according to the laws of

20 "Premièrement, le Poète, pour montrer les choses du monde, ou plutôt les faits humains, être alternatifs avec adversité et félicité: a rempli tout son Poème de joie et de tristesse, successives l'une à l'autre" (Peletier, 307) ["First of all, in order to represent earthly things, or rather human actions, as alternating between adversity and happiness, the Poet filled his entire Poem with joy and sadness, one after the other"].

21 For instance, in the scene when Guénélic has just rescued his beloved Hélisenne, only to discover that she is on the verge of death, the description emphasizes the abruptness of his emotional swing: "Helas ma vie est du tout hors d'esperance, combien que quand je feiz retour vers toy, ayant obtenu victoire de noz ennemys, une grand hylarité m'accompaignoit. Et ignorant l'infortune et male adventure, je pensoye que pour le futur ma vie seroit doulce et tranquille, mais ces consolatifz pensemens, *en petite espace* se sont convertiz en trop acerbes et durissimes cogitations. O dolente et anxieuse *mutation* …" (*AD* III, 465; emphasis added) ["Alas! My life is beyond all hope, although when I returned to you, having won a victory over our enemies, a great happiness accompanied me. Not knowing about the misfortune and woe about to befall me, I thought that in the future my life would be sweet and tranquil. But these consoling thoughts were *soon* converted into bitter and harsh ones. O woeful and distressing *mutation* …" (*Torments*, 184; emphasis added)].

22 On the ethics of friendship in the work of Hélisenne de Crenne, see Ullrich Langer, *Perfect Friendship: Studies in Literature and Moral Philosophy from Boccaccio to Corneille* (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 39–46; and Colette Winn, "'Ce lien si ferme et si puissant …' *Amicitia* et *consolatio* dans les *Epistres familieres* d'Hélisenne de Crenne (1539)," in *Hélisenne de Crenne: L'Écriture et ses doubles*, eds. Jean-Philippe Beaulieu and Diane Desrosiers-Bonin (Paris: Champion, 2004), 197–215.

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hospitality (as when they arrive in Goranflos) or scorned by inhospitable people (in the village where they arrive at the end of their journey). Moreover, on their journey across the globe, they pass through real and mythical places made famous by Homeric and Virgilian epic, including Carthage (*AD* III, 400) and the Elysian Fields (*AD* III, 494–98). Finally, the second part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* includes a political dimension, with reflections on what makes a good prince and how he should respond to rebellion. Peletier emphasizes the political component of epic, Aeneas being for Peletier the ideal prince who is able to "garder une majesté, représentation et dignité Royale" (312) ["maintain majesty, presentation, and Royal dignity"].

This catalogue of epic features in *Les Angoysses douloureuses* is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to give a sense of how Hélisenne de Crenne's work programs the kind of reception reserved for epic. In the process, I have deliberately delayed addressing the most obvious objection that one might formulate to reading *Les Angoysses douloureuses* in light of epic conventions: the first part seems so clearly at odds with the bellicose, imperial, and masculine values underlying classical epic. By privileging a woman's experience of love in the first part, hasn't Hélisenne de Crenne written the very antithesis of epic? Indeed, most of the aforementioned examples of epic features come from the second and third parts. How, then, can one reconcile the "sentimental" first part with what I have been describing as the work's epic horizon?

If we consider the architecture of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* in light of the *Aeneid*, the shift from the sentimental first part to the warlike second appears less baffling. Virgil's *in medias res* opening has his hero meeting the Queen of Carthage *before* performing (or relating) any genuine exploits. Similarly, *Les Angoysses douloureuses* begins with the story of Hélisenne's *innamoramento* and growing passion *before* opening onto an epic expanse of high seas, battles, chivalric adventures, and travels far and wide undertaken by Guénélic and his faithful friend. The proportion of the tragic Dido plot to the rest of the epic narrative constitutes a second analogy with Virgilian epic. In the *Aeneid*, the Dido and Aeneas story belongs to the first third of the poem (four books out of twelve); likewise, in *Les Angoysses douloureuses* one-third (one part out of three) is reserved for the love story from the woman's point of view before switching to the epic adventures related in Part II. Hélisenne would have been intimately familiar with this proportion, since she followed publication of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* with an adaptation of the first *four* books of the *Aeneid* dedicated to François I[er].[23] Finally, this structural analogy between the two

23 *Les Quatre Premiers Livres des eneydes du treselegant poete Virgile, composee par Dame Helisenne* (Paris: Pierre Sergent, 1541). On Hélisenne de Crenne's adaptation of the first four books of the *Aeneid*, see Wood, *Hélisenne de Crenne*, 135–51.

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works should come as no surprise from a writer who chose "Hélisenne" as her pen name and as the name of her protagonist, playing off Dido's original name, "Elissa."

If the *Angoysses douloureuses* took shape in part as imitation of Virgilian epic, Dido must be placed at the heart of the work. For all intents and purposes, she had found a place at the center of the reception of Virgilian epic by French humanists. In this sense, Hélisenne de Crenne put into practice what many others tacitly acknowledged by virtue of their *de facto* privileging of the Dido story. Certainly, the most *romanesque* episode in classical epic, the Dido and Aeneas story, was for humanists in this generation the most glossed, imitated, and translated one, sometimes to the exclusion of the rest of Virgil's poem. Peletier, for instance, glosses this episode in some detail, only to return to it several times, for a total of four references in his chapter "De l'œuvre héroïque" (307–308; 311; 312; and 316). No other episode is as present in Peletier's commentary on the genre. There was a comparable tendency to privilege the Dido and Aeneas story in translations and adaptations of the *Aeneid* roughly contemporary to *Les Angoysses douloureuses*. In 1552, for instance, Du Bellay published a verse translation of Virgil's Dido and Aeneas episode (Book IV) in isolation from the rest of the *Aeneid*.[24] Extracting this episode from the rest of the poem, humanists made the Dido and Aeneas episode a detachable set-piece.[25]

The tendency for the Dido episode to be detached from the rest of the *Aeneid* is emblematic of Dido's effect on epic. Just as this episode had something of a life of its own, so, too, did Dido enjoy a kind of autonomy with respect to Virgilian epic. From the beginning, Dido was at odds with the imperial project underlying the *Aeneid*. She seemed always ready to pull away from the ideological center of the work just as her story was so frequently excerpted from the rest of the poem. As we shall see, this "Dido effect"—this pulling away from the auctorial center—in the work of Virgil (*Aeneid* I–IV), Ovid (*Heroïdes*, Epistle VII), and Augustine (*Confessions* I, 13) shaped the architecture and generic identifications in *Les Angoysses douloureuses*.

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24 *Le Quatriesme Livre de l'*Énéide*, traduict en vers françoys. La Complaincte de Didon à Énée, prinse d'Ovide. Autres Œuvres de l'invention du traducteur* par *J. D. B. A.* (Paris: n.p., 1552). For a broad survey of the seven translations of the *Aeneid* in the French Renaissance, see Valerie Worth-Stylianou, "Virgilian Space in Renaissance French Translations of the *Aeneid*," in *Virgilian Identities in the French Renaissance*, eds. Phillip John Usher and Isabelle Fernbach (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 117–40.

25 Thereby participating in what Marilynn Desmond describes as a long tradition initiated by Ovid, a tradition consisting of "detaching Dido and her story from the *Aeneid* as a whole, thereby displacing Aeneas as the thematic focus of the text and implicitly disrupting the imperial context within which Aeneas acts." *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval* Aeneid (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 34.

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Dido in Virgil, Ovid, and Augustine

Beginning in the *Aeneid* itself and extending through imitations and commentaries, Dido played a duplicitous role for epic. She was at once synonymous with Virgilian epic and a decidedly anti-epic figure. In the first place, Virgil gives Dido a pivotal role in his poem. This episode marks a departure from Homeric epic, making Dido herself a sort of Virgilian signature. Yet she also challenges the monolithic epic values embodied by Aeneas. To paraphrase: Aeneas has left the ruins of Troy on a mission of *imperium* to found a city and a race that will rule the world. When he encounters Dido, she has *already* accomplished this epic dream by founding a new city (Carthage) and a race that will ultimately defeat the Roman army on the battlefield (through the fearsome Carthaginian Hannibal).[26] When Virgil first represents Dido, he depicts her in the act of giving laws to her people—she is the lawgiver, the empire builder, and the founder of a shining new city (*Aeneid* I, 502–8). But with her first words to Aeneas, she offers her rising empire to him: "urbem quam statuo vestra est" (*Aeneid* I.573). Her last act will, of course, be to commit suicide when she is abandoned. In Virgil's poem, Dido emerges as epic's negativity. She renounces the very project to found an empire that is trumpeted as the glorious purpose of Aeneas's journey. Dido's rejection of the imperial dream thus casts a more ambiguous light over the epic values championed in the *Aeneid*. In Virgilian epic, Dido exists as more than abandoned woman: she introduces what one might call a zone of Bakhtinian dialogism into the *Aeneid.*[27]

One of the most famous passages from *Aeneid* IV is Dido's beautiful lamentation before committing suicide, a passage that was frequently cited, paraphrased, and commented:

> dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
> accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.
> vixi et, quem dederat cursum Fortuna, peregi,
> et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
> urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,
> ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,

26 Insofar as Dido has already founded a city, she is Aeneas's rival, as Francine Mora observes. *L'*Enéide *médiévale et la naissance du roman* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994), 197.

27 On Dido's ambivalence, see John Watkins, *The Specter of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 19–20.

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> felix, heu! nimium felix, si litora tantum
> numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae!
>
> *AENEID* IV.651–58

> [O relics once dear, while God and Fate allowed, take my spirit, and release me from my woes. My life is done and I have finished the course that Fortune gave: and now in majesty my shade shall pass beneath the earth. A noble city I have built; my own walls I have seen; avenging my husband, I have exacted punishment from my brother and foe—happy, too happy, had but the Dardan keels never touched our shores!][28]

This passage contains one of the most frequently quoted phrases: Dido's declaration "urbem praeclaram statui" ["a noble city I have built"], a phrase that was picked up by writers from Ovid to Christine de Pizan and Hélisenne de Crenne.[29] The passage also contains what was some of the poem's most beautiful language for commentators such as Peletier. Although he generally prefers vernacular periphrasis to quotation, as an example of particularly poignant wording, he cites the first words of Dido's final speech "Dulces exuviae" (316)—an apostrophe to the gifts Aeneas bestowed upon her (treasures salvaged from the ruins of Troy) combined with his weapons.

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28 *Aeneid*, trans. H. R. Fairclough and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1999), 467.

29 In Ovid's *Heroides* (discussed below), Ovid echoes Virgil's formula "urbem praeclaram statui" with the phrase "urbem constitui" (v. 119). Hélisenne de Crenne also plays off this phrase in her *Epistres familieres*, where she evokes the above passage by describing Dido in the following terms: "elle estant succumbée en la calamité de tenebreuse infortune, fist apparoir la reluisence de sa *magnanimité*, de telle sorte que *par elle fut construicte & edifiée la noble cité* de Carthage: laquelle depuis fut tresfameuse & renomée." *Les Epistres familieres et invectives*, ed. Jerry Nash (Paris: Champion, 1996), 95–96; emphasis added ["Dido, having fallen prey to dark misfortune, showed the splendor of her soul by building the great city of Carthage, which since then has become so very famous" (*A Renaissance Woman: Helisenne's Personal and Invective Letters*, trans. Marianna M. Mustacchi and Paul J. Archambault [Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986], p. 59)]. In praising Dido's "magnanimité," Hélisenne de Crenne subtly recalls the epithet "magna" applied to Virgil's Dido in the above passage (v. 654). This detail is significant because it reinforces Dido's epic dimensions. For humanists, grandeur (magnitude) was one of the defining traits of epic, commonly designated not by the modern generic marker "epic," but rather by its physical and metaphorical greatness ("long poëme" for Du Bellay, for instance, and "grand œuvre" for Sebillet). See Rothstein, *Reading in the Renaissance*, 20–27.

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So famous was the apostrophe quoted by Peletier that it found its way obliquely into other versions of the Dido and Aeneas story popular at the time of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*. Ovid's *Heroïdes*—verse epistles, some by famous literary heroines addressed to the men who abandoned them—includes a rewriting of the Dido episode (Epistle VII, from Dido to Aeneas). Hélisenne de Crenne read the *Heroïdes* in a bilingual edition consisting of Octavien de Saint-Gelais's adaptation into French verse with Ovid's text printed in smaller type in the margins.[30] Epistle VII is illustrated by a woodcut depicting Dido and Aeneas in the foreground with the gifts that Aeneas gave to Dido serving as background (Figure 6.1).

These gifts were, however, bestowed upon *Virgil's* Dido, since this episode from the Dido and Aeneas story is largely absent from Ovid's poem. Indeed, Ovid's Dido calls into question these gifts, claiming that Aeneas never carried the "sacred relics" on his shoulders (*Her*. v79–80). For her suicide, Ovid's Dido uses only Aeneas's sword, with no mention of the gifts Virgil's Dido uses to construct her own funeral pyre. By depicting these gifts, this woodcut thus functions as a Virgilian echo more than as a visual representation of Ovid's Epistle VII.

Mary B. McKinley has studied a comparable phenomenon in a different context (Montaigne's quotations from the *Aeneid* in the *Essais*). She notes that both Montaigne's text and quotations from Virgil are enmeshed in "multiple levels of allusion" whereby "passages in Montaigne's own prose [...] echo portions of earlier works which in turn echo even earlier works."[31] As a result, Virgil rarely stands alone, but rather comes accompanied by a series of allusions, rewritings, and commentaries. In the case of the reception of the Dido and Aeneas story for Hélisenne de Crenne's generation, it was impossible to read Dido's Epistle in the *Heroïdes* independently of the *Aeneid*, one text inevitably coloring the other in "multiple levels of allusion." The edition of Du Bellay's verse adaptation of Book IV of the *Aeneid* previously mentioned explicitly

30 *S'ensuyt les xxi epistres dovide: translatees du latin en francois par reverend pere en dieu maistre Octovien de saint gelaix evesque d'angoulesme* (Paris: n.p., 1525), n. pag.

In her reconstruction of Hélisenne de Crenne's library holdings, Diane Wood includes a 1539 edition of Octavien de Saint-Gelais's translation by her own printer, Denis Janot (25). On the popularity of this translation as well as competing versions by Charles Fontaine (1551/52) and Du Bellay (1552), see Paul White, "Ovid's Heroides in Early Modern French Translation: Saint-Gelais, Fontaine, Du Bellay," *Translation & Literature* 13, 2 (2004), 165–80.

31 *Words in a Corner: Studies in Montaigne's Latin Quotations* (Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1981), 66.

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FIGURE 6.1 *Woodcut illustration for Ovid's Epistle VII "From Dido to Aeneas" in* Les XXI Epistres dovide: translatees du latin en francois par reverend pere en dieu maistre Octovien de saint gelaix evesque d'angoulesme (*1525*). *Houghton Library, Cambridge, MA.*

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invites reading these works together—looking for echoes, nuances, shifts—since it was published alongside Ovid's Epistle VII, as the title indicates: *Le Quatriesme Livre de l'Énéide, traduict en vers françoys. La Complaincte de Didon à Énée, prinse d'Ovide. Autres Œuvres de l'invention du traducteur*.[32]

Elegiac Epic

How did Ovid's version of the Dido and Aeneas story inflect *Les Angoysses douloureuses*? In the *Heroïdes*, Ovid all but eclipses both Aeneas's noble mission of *imperium* and Dido's wrath when she is abandoned.[33] Gone is the terror that Virgil's Dido inspires. In the final scenes of Book IV, Virgil's Dido curses Aeneas and then takes her own life in what she presents as a dark ritual (*Aeneid* IV.478–503). In contrast, in the *Heroïdes*, Dido is *pathos* personified. She is, in this sense, the precursor of the *sentimental* heroine, invested with the sole purpose of inspiring pity. It is thus Ovid's elegiac Dido who resonates throughout the first part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, where Hélisenne appeals to the compassion of her readers, presenting her story as worthy of their pity: "C'est à vous mes nobles dames, que je veulx mes extremes douleurs estre communicquées. Car j'estime que mon infortune vous provocquera à quelques larmes piteuses" (*AD* I, 96) ["it is to you, noble ladies, that I wish to communicate my extreme suffering. For I believe my misfortune will move you to shed a few tears of pity," *Torments*, 7]. Moreover, like Ovid's version of the Dido and Aeneas story, the heroine's passion and emotional turmoil occupy center stage of the first part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*. Ovid's Dido has fallen in love in spite of herself, only to be abandoned by a fickle lover who cares little for any suffering he may cause, just as Hélisenne complains frequently of Guénélic's indifference to her suffering while expressing the fear that should she succumb to this Aeneas, she would only be disgraced.[34] The stylized sentimental discourse in *Les Angoysses*

32 Todd Reeser studies this 1552 work, examining Dido's role in distinguishing epic from romance, but also French from Roman (or Italian). "Du Bellay's Dido and the Translation of Nation," in *Virgilian Identities in the French Renaissance*, eds. Phillip John Usher and Isabelle Fernbach (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 213–36.

33 To quote John Watkins, "[w]hen Virgil's Dido accuses Aeneas of fabricating the gods' command that he depart, Mercury's descent exonerates him. But when Dido makes the same charges in the *Heroides*, no celestial councils or divine messengers refute her. What Virgil honored as a denial of private desire for the greater good of the *imperium* appears retrospectively as a cad's excuse for inconstancy" (*The Specter of Dido*, 32).

34 "Ce jeune homme icy (comme l'experience le demonstre) a converty amour en desdaing par ce qu'il luy semble que je suis trop lente et tardive de satisfaire à son ardent desir, et par impatience et indiscretion veult que promptement je luy responde: parquoy je puis conjecturer qu'il est inveteré et deliberé de m'engendrer une perpetuelle

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douloureuses also resembles the tone of lamentation in Ovid's poem, with an accent placed on the subjective experience of suffering. Finally, the parallels with Ovid's poem are further reinforced by the suggestion that Guénélic is the intended recipient of Hélisenne's writing, just as in the *Heroïdes* Dido addresses her epistle to Aeneas.[35] All of these factors combined make the first part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* a virtual elegiac epistle of Dido-Elissa to her own faithless Aeneas in the tradition of the *Heroïdes*.[36]

In short, Ovidian elegy—or *piteuse complaincte* (*AD* I, 218) in Hélisenne de Crenne's terminology—shaped her rewriting of the Dido and Aeneas story.[37] This influence did not, however, result in an eclipse of the epic horizon of her work. Hélisenne de Crenne did not follow Ovid in evacuating male heroic exploits in favor of female lamentation. Rather, she explored an uncomfortable cohabitation by mingling and sometimes juxtaposing the two genres. This layering of epic and elegy is one of the ways *Les Angoysses douloureuses* combines established genres to produce new effects.[38] Dido's ambivalent status

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infamie, car si presentement j'acquiescoye à sa requeste: ce ne pourroit estre sans estre ouye de quelqu'ung, qui seroit cause de ma totale ruyne et extenuation" (*AD* I, 185–86) ["Experience shows that this young man here has converted love into disdain because it seems to him I am too slow and tardy in satisfying his ardent desire, and, through impatience and indiscretion, he wants a prompt response from me; and so I may conjecture that he is determined and resolved to lead me into perpetual infamy; for if I give in now to his request, someone will surely hear about it who will cause my total ruination and diminution" (*Torments*, 55)].

35 "Moy estant en telle deliberation, subitement je donnay commencement à l'œuvre presente, estimant que ce me sera tres heureux labeur: et si ceste felicité m'est concedée que elle tumbe entre les mains de mon amy …" (*AD* I, 218) ["Having made this decision, I immediately began the present work, thinking it would be a very happy labor for me. If I am granted the felicity of having it fall into my beloved's hands …" (*Torments*, 72)].

36 On Hélisenne de Crenne's imitation of Ovid's and Boccaccio's elegies, see Mounier, *Le Roman humaniste*, 32.

37 "Complainte" appears to be the term most used to designate elegy at the time. All of the French translations of Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiametta* used *complaincte* in their title: *La Complainte des tristes amours de Flammette a son amy Pamphile translatee d'italien en vulgaire francoys* (Lyon: Claude Nourry, 1532); *Complaincte trespiteuse de Flamette à son amy Pamphile, translatée d'italien en vulgaire Francoys, le tout reveu et corrigé* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1541). "Complaincte" also appears in the title of Du Bellay's translation of Dido's epistle to Aeneas in the *Heroides: La Complaincte de Didon à Énée, prinse d'Ovide*. (Paris: n.p, 1552).

38 What Mary B. McKinley observes regarding the *Essais* applies to *Les Angoysses douloureuses* as well: "Montaigne's reader, pursuing a source, arrives at a crossroads of echoes and reflections …" (*Words in a Corner*, 73).

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(between epic and elegy) thus illuminates one of the more perplexing shifts in the work: from elegiac female lamentation in Part 1 to the male epic values ("œuvres belliqueuses et louables entreprinses") announced in Part 2. Another reappropriation of the Dido and Aeneas story completes the picture: in a passage in Book 1 of the *Confessions*, Augustine evokes the Dido and Aeneas story. This famous passage provided a model for what transpires in Part 3 of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*.[39]

Repentance: Augustine Renouncing Dido

In the following passage from Book 1 of the *Confessions*, Augustine recalls studying the Dido and Aeneas episode from the *Aeneid* in school: "tenere cogebar Aeneae nescio cuius errores, oblitus errorum meorum, et plorare Didonem mortuam, quia se occidit ab amore, cum interea me ipsum in his a te morientem, deus, vita mea, siccis oculis ferrem miserrimus" (1.13) ["I was enforced to commit to memory the wanderings of I know not what Aeneas, while I forgat mine own; and to bewail dead Dido, because she killed herself for love; when in the mean time (wretch that I was) I with dry eyes endured myself dying towards thee, O God of my Life!"][40] Augustine not only studied Virgil, he *memorized* the Dido and Aeneas episode, a diversion from what he now acknowledges as the true drama of his existence: alienation from God and then conversion. Augustine both recognizes the impact of the Dido and Aeneas story (he confesses to having wept over this story) and seeks to demystify secular fictions (as in the dismissive phrase "I know not what Aeneas").[41] As he pits the emptiness of the *Aeneid* against divine plenitude, Augustine contrasts the vanity of weeping over Dido's suicide to the real tragedy of an existence alienated from God.[42] Dido thus becomes the unexpected agent of a new agenda: the affirmation of Christian truths over secular fictions.

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39 Scholars recognize the importance of Augustine's *City of God* as one of the sources for *Les Angoysses douloureuses*. Yet to my mind the *Confessions* shaped this work more significantly, albeit in less explicit ways. Hélisenne de Crenne was clearly familiar with the *Confessions*, which are paraphrased in one instance: "Sainct Augustin en grand affluence de larmes et gemissemens de la mort de sa mere, se lamenta" (*AD* III, 482) ["Saint Augustine, with a great abundance of tears and moans, lamented his mother's death" (*Torments*, 192)].

40 Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. William Watts, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1.38–39.

41 Watkins, *The Specter of Dido*, 35.

42 Dido's role is once again ambiguous, as Watkins suggests: "For all Augustine's talk about rejecting Virgil, the *Aeneid* provides him a narrative for understanding and describing his spiritual autobiography. He does not absolutely abandon Dido but translates her into an

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Augustine's reappropriation of the Dido story illuminates Hélisenne's unexpected repentance in the third part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, which presents yet another about-face as Hélisenne is reunited with Guénélic only to repudiate human love. Suddenly, we find Hélisenne rejecting both amorous lamentation (Part 1) and epic aspirations (Part 2) in a scene of eleventh-hour repentance. Nothing prepared the reader for this final turn. Indeed, when in Part 1 Hélisenne's jealous husband forces her to go to confession in the hope that she might in this way overcome her adulterous passion, Hélisenne displays no desire for repentance. Instead, she ends up silently cursing her confessor and fantasizing about her lover.[43] Nonetheless, unexpected as it might be, she experiences a conversion in Part 3. In ways reminiscent of the *Confessions*, Hélisenne laments the error of her ways while addressing God directly in a narrative mode now marked by contrition and prayer:

> O eternel et souverain dieu, qui voids noz cueurs et cognois noz pechez, je te supplie que par ta misericorde vueille tourner en oblivion mes continuelles iniquitez: par lesquelles, je congnoys avoir envers toy commis offense tres griefve: car j'ay tousjours perseveré en maulvaises cogitations suyvant ma sensualité: laquelle m'a conduict où raison, conscience et honnesteté repugnoyent. Mais toutesfoys j'espere tant en ta divine clemence et infinye bonté, que mon oraison ne sera enervée, mais te sera acceptable: Car jamais tu ne refuse [sic] pardon à tes creatures, puis que de cueur devot ilz te le requierent.
>
> *AD* III, 468

> Oh eternal and sovereign God who sees our hearts and knows our sins! I pray that in your mercy you may turn into oblivion my continual iniquities through which I know I have committed a very grave offense against you, for I have always persevered in evil thoughts, following my sensuality, which has led me where reason, conscience, and honor refuse to go. But all the same I have such great faith in your divine clemency and infinite goodness that I hope my prayer will not be inefficacious but will be acceptable to you. For you never refuse a pardon to your creatures when they beg it of you with a devout heart.
>
> *TORMENTS*, 185

image of classical culture; he adopts Aeneas's wanderings as a trope for his own alienation from God" (*Specter of Dido*, 36).

43 I examine this scene more closely in *Idle Pursuits: Literature and 'Oisiveté' in the French Renaissance* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 114–19.

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This moment in the third part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*—the moment of repentance—casts in retrospect a new light on the preceding narrative, now revealed to be secular wanderings. Like Augustine before her, the heroine was apparently preoccupied with an adulterous Dido story while remaining blind to her own tragic alienation from God.[44]

The Dido Effect

In *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, the Dido effect is bound up with the humanist practice of imitation, enmeshed in "multiple levels of allusion" (McKinley) so closely associated with the reception of Virgil. Following Dido's thread has taken us through a series of about-faces and a vertiginous layering of genres: epic, elegy, and repentance narrative. The Dido subtext can illuminate one last feature of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*: its shifting narrative points of view as the narrative first-person is passed from one character to another.

While Part 1 is both composed and narrated by "Dame Hélisenne," the title page of Part 2 announces that this part was composed by Dame Hélisenne, but speaking as Guénélic ("Composée par Dame Helisenne, Parlant en la personne de son Amy Guenelic," *AD* II, 227).[45] This shift in narrative point of view seems perplexing, particularly given the temptation to read the first part of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* autobiographically. Why would Hélisenne de Crenne begin by writing confessionally in the first part only to adopt another

44 In his commentary on Virgil, Peletier also comments on this passage in the *Confessions* as he evokes the *pathos* of Augustine reading the Dido and Aeneas episode in the *Aeneid* and weeping: "Il [Virgil] a si vivement décrit la pauvre amante Didon, et la fait parler si lamentablement à sa mort: que le bon Saint Augustin, comme on dit, ne se put tenir de pleurer, lisant ces dernières paroles, *Dulces exuvia*" (316) ["He [Virgil] described the poor amorous Dido so vividly, and made her speak so tragically at the moment of her death, that the good Saint Augustine, as it is said, could not help but cry, reading her last words, *Dulces Exuvia*"]. This reference creates a depth of commentary twice removed: *Peletier* reading *Augustine* reading *Virgil*, with Dido once again serving as the pivot. In the process, however, Peletier evacuates Augustine's criticism of secular fictions. Ironically, we are left with the image of Augustine as the uncritical, enthralled reader of Virgilian epic who is moved to tears by Dido's story.

45 Cathleen Bauschatz examines this phenomenon, comparing it to gender impersonation or "travestissement." "Travestissement textuel dans la 'Seconde Partie' des *Angoysses douloureuses*," in Beaulieu and Desrosiers-Bonin, *Hélisenne de Crenne: L'Écriture et ses doubles*, 55–70.

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(male) perspective in what has often been deemed a disconcerting if not disappointing second part?[46]

One piece of the puzzle is to be found, I believe, in a basic writing practice transmitted through a series of graded classroom exercises used to teach writing to children. Known as *progymnasmata*, these elementary writing exercises composed by Hermogenes of Tarsus (155–225) and Aphthonius (fl. ca. 400), among others, were used in schools from antiquity through the Renaissance.[47] One of the rhetorical exercises known as *ethopoeia*, sometimes termed *prosopopoeia* or impersonation, was based precisely on the "imitation of the character [ethos] of a proposed person."[48] Marjorie Curry Woods summarizes the exercise as follows:

> Using literary, historical, and other types of (usually narrative) texts that they already had read, students were asked to evoke according to certain rhetorical conventions which changed over time, the feelings of a specific character in a specific situation. This character is usually in a state of severe emotional agitation, a condition appropriate to expression through intense repetition, variation, and figuration. The exercise encouraged students to examine the psychological as well as the technical aspects of rhetorical technique. (284)

As Woods notes, the exercise often required adopting a pathetical tenor through sympathizing with hurt or angry women, Dido being the most famous example. It is thought, for instance, that in composing the *Heroïdes*, Ovid may

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46 Henri Coulet, for instance, laments what he terms the awkward construction, with the second part interrupting the sentimental plot advanced in the first part (105). The first two modern editions of *Les Angoysses douloureuses* published in the twentieth century included only the first part: *Les Angoysses douloureuses qui procèdent d'amours* (*1538*), ed. Paule Demats (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968), and *Les Angoisses douloureuses qui procèdent d'amours* (*Première partie*), ed. Jérôme Vercruysse (Paris: Lettres modernes/Minard, 1968).

47 For a general introduction to works by Hermogenes and Aphthonius, see Thomas M. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 53–60.

48 This is the definition given by Aphthonius, cited by Marjorie Curry Woods, "Weeping for Dido: Epilogue on a Premodern Rhetorical Exercise in the Postmodern Classroom," in *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. Carol Dana Lanham (London: Continuum, 2002), 286. For close analysis of the reception of this exercise in sixteenth-century France, see Véronique Montagne, "La Notion de *prosopopée* au XVI^{e} siècle," *Seizième Siècle* 4 (2008), 217–36.

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have been influenced by the rhetorical training he received as a boy when he studied these exercises (286).[49] Indeed, his verse epistles are striking examples of *ethopoeia* insofar as they are written in the first person from the point of view of famous literary or mythological women under extreme emotional duress (including Penelope, Phaedra, Medea, and of course Dido). Augustine also recalls practicing this exercise, noting that through *ethopoeia*, Dido's tragic story was experienced intensely by schoolboys.[50]

Throughout the early modern period, the *progymnasmata* remained common composition exercises, frequently reprinted as textbooks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, sometimes in translation.[51] Through *ethopoeia*, early modern students would have learned to assume the point of view of someone far from their own subjective reality—most notably regarding gender and age, as when schoolboys learned to speak as famous heroines. One of the guidelines for the exercise was decorum, as Woods points out, requiring that students adapt the speech to the appropriate circumstances ("Weeping for Dido," 289). As a result, notes Woods, "Sympathizing with hurt and angry women [...] was a surprisingly common experience for pre-modern schoolboys" (286).

This provides a new context for understanding the switch from feminine to masculine points of view in the narration of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*—perhaps less of a literary enigma than a basic writing technique with a long history. *Les Angoysses douloureuses* offers a striking example of *ethopoeia*, self-consciously practicing the art of impersonation, of "speaking in the person" ("en la personne") of someone in extreme circumstances—and in the process, practicing gender impersonation and experiencing vicariously a very different subjective reality. The singularity of such an exercise—and this should be stressed—lies in the mandatory use of the first person in capturing another subjective reality. The objective was not merely to evoke Dido's feelings or the tragedy of her plight, but more precisely to speak from her subjective position—not to write about Dido, but rather to *speak as Dido*: "parler en la personne de Didon." Whoever the author of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*

49 As Watkins observes, "Ovid's principal revisionary strategy lies in recasting Dido's story as her own first-person narrative" (*Specter of Dido*, 31).

50 See Marjorie Curry Woods, "Boys Will Be Women: Musings on Classroom Nostalgia and the Chaucerian Audience," in *Speaking Images: Essays in Honor of V. A. Kolve*, eds. Robert F. Yeager and Charlotte C. Morse (Asheville: University of North Carolina at Asheville, 2001), 153.

51 Donald Lemen Clark, "The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Grammar Schools," *Speech Monographs* 19 (1952), 260.

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might have been, this historical person had clearly mastered the art of impersonation, of gaining psychological insight through writing from different subjective positions: Hélisenne-Dido, Guénélic, and, briefly, Quézinstra.[52] The role played by these *exercices de style* (*progymnasmata*) in early modern schools should warn us against hastily equating first-person narrative with autobiography.[53] The literary device of *ethopoeia* required, precisely, *both* the first-person *and* an estrangement from one's own subjective position.

In *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, with each subsequent change in literary genre and narrative point of view, a shift occurs. As a result, the narrative does not advance steadily toward resolution so much as *rotate* along a succession of axes. With no stable vantage point from which to examine the unfolding events, the reader is presented with a series of conflicting perspectives—Hélisenne's, Guénélic's, Quézinstra's, but also epic, elegy, and repentance narrative. Following Dido's trail has taken us from the highest aspiration of vernacular humanism (epic) through the personal, lyrical mode of *complaincte* (elegy) to a basic writing technique (*ethopoeia*). This itinerary also serves as a case study in the genealogy of what we, today, term the early novel: a hybrid form born out of imitation, impersonation, and sometimes disconcerting experimentation.

The rise of the novel in early modern France was not the result of faithfulness to a single generic principle—a magic key to understanding this elusive genre. To grasp the emergence of the French novel in this period, one must look not to timeless principles, but rather to a precise literary moment—and in this case, to the basic literary techniques studied by schoolboys (practicing *progymnasmata*) as well as to the lofty ideals of humanists (dreaming of a revival of classical epic). Neither a throwback to medieval romance nor an astonishingly modern work (a proto novel), *Les Angoysses douloureuses* belongs fully to its time.

52 The working hypothesis is that Marguerite Briet is the author of *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, but this identification remains problematic, as Christine de Buzon observes, given the lack of archival documents linking Marguerite Briet to literary activity. See her "Introduction," *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, 10–11. For a nuanced discussion of authorship in *Les Angoysses douloureuses*, see Leah L. Chang, *Into Print: The Production of Female Authorship in Early Modern France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 140–41.

53 With their principle of delegation of speech, *prosopopeia* and *ethopoiea* are precisely a game of "disidentification," as Blandine Perona observes. *Prosopopée et persona à la Renaissance* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013), 125.

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PART 2

On Poets and Poetry

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CHAPTER 7

Maurice Scève and the Feminized Voice of Courtly Lyric

Edwin M. Duval

As is well known, Maurice Scève was a great admirer and imitator of Francesco Petrarca. As is equally well known, Petrarch was a great admirer and imitator of Virgil. The chain of inspiration and imitation leading from Virgil through Petrarch to Scève is nowhere more evident than in two sets of poems in which Scève, imitating Petrarch imitating Virgil, reworks some extremely familiar passages of Book IV of the *Aeneid*. The first of these is an epic simile involving a hind pierced by an arrow:

> *qualis coniecta cerva sagitta*,
> quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
> pastor agens telis, liquitque volatile *ferrum*
> nescius; illa *fuga* silvas saltusque peragrat
> Dictaeos; *haeret lateri letalis harundo*.[1]
>
> [Like a hind (*cerva*) which a shepherd, shooting his darts from afar in the Cretan woods, has pierced unforewarned with an arrow (*sagitta*) and left his flying steel (*ferrum*) in its flank, oblivious; she in flight (*fuga*) traverses the Dictaean woods and groves, but the lethal shaft remains fixed in her side (*lateri*).]

In sonnet 209 of the *Rime sparse* Petrarch borrows this vivid vignette to evoke the psychological ever-presence of a physically absent lady. The farther the lover travels from Laura, the more firmly she remains fixed in his mind and in his heart, like an arrow in a stricken stag:

1 *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), *Aeneid* 4.69–73, emphasis added. Translations of Virgil are my own.

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I dolci colli ov' io lasciai me stesso,
partendo onde partir giamai non posso,
mi vanno innanzi, et emmi ogni or a dosso
quel caro peso ch' Amor m'à commesso.
Meco di me mi mervaglio spesso
ch' i' pur vo sempre, et non son ancor mosso
dal bel giogo più volte indarno scosso,
ma com' più me n'allungo et più m'appresso.
Et *qual cervo ferito di saetta*
col *ferro* avelenato dentr' al fianco
fugge et più duolsi quanto più s'affetta,
tal io, *con quello stral dal lato manco*
che mi consuma et parte mi diletta,
di duol mi struggo et di *fuggir* mi stanco.[2]

[The sweet hills where I left myself, when I departed from the place I can never depart from, are before me as I go, and still behind me is that sweet burden Love has entrusted to me.[3] Within myself I am often amazed at myself, for I still go and yet have not moved from the sweet yoke that I have shaken off in vain many times, but the farther I go from it the closer I come. As a hart (*cervo*) struck by an arrow (*saetta*), with the poisoned steel (*ferro*) within its side, flees (*fugge*) and feels more pain the faster it runs, so I, with that arrow in my left side (*lato*) which destroys me and at the same time delights me, am tormented by sorrow and weary myself with fleeing (*fuggir*).]

The sestet of this sonnet echoes almost verbatim—and is clearly meant to recall—the terms of Virgil's simile.

Scève, imitating Petrarch, simultaneously imitates through him the same Virgilian simile in epigram 352 of the *Délie*:

Non moins ardoir je me sens en l'absence
Du tout de moy pour elle me privant,
Que congeler en la doulce presence,
Qui par ses yeulx me rend mort, et vivant.

2 *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The Rime sparse and Other Lyrics*, ed. and trans. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 209, emphasis added.

3 So Durling. A more likely meaning is: "and always on my shoulders is [I bear] the sweet burden."

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Or, si je suis le vulgaire suyvant,
Pour en guerir, fuyr la me fauldroit.
Le *Cerf* blessé par l'*archier* bien adroit
Plus *fuyt* la mort, et plus sa fin approche.
Donc ce remede à mon mal ne vauldroit
Sinon, moy mort, desesperé reproche.[4]

[No less do I feel myself burn in her absence, when I deprive myself entirely of myself for her sake, than I feel myself freeze in that sweet presence, which with her eyes brings me death and life. Now, if I were to follow common wisdom I would have to flee her in order to be cured. The stag (*Cerf*), wounded by a skilled archer (*archier*), hastens his end the more he flees (*fuyt*) his death. This cure for my malady, therefore, would gain me nothing but blame for my own desperate death.]

Scève's debt to Petrarch is evident in the oxymorons of presence and absence, life and death ("più me n'allungo et più m'appresso"; "Plus fuyt la mort, et plus sa fin approche") and in the tortured expressions of self-alienation ("ov' io lasciai me stesso, / partendo onde partir giamai non posso…. Meco di me mi mervaglio spesso"; "Du tout de moy pour elle me privant"). But his debt to Virgil is equally obvious, in the substitution of Virgil's hunter ("archier" / "pastor agens telis") for Petrarch's arrow ("sagitta" and "letalis harundo" / "saetta" and "stral"). Scève clearly assumes our familiarity with Virgil, as he creates new meanings through minor differences. His hunter, for example, is not "inscius" but "bien adroit," suggesting the malign vendetta of Cupid as opposed to the random shot of an oblivious shepherd.[5]

What is most astonishing about this case of double intertextuality, however, is not the fact of imitation but the fact that Virgil introduced his famous simile to describe the first effects of passion not on a male lover but on a woman in love: Dido, the once powerful queen of Carthage now brought low by love:

4 *The* Délie *of Maurice Scève*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 352, emphasis added. Translations of Scève are my own. In places where Scève's syntax cannot by approximated in English I have favored the conceptual logic of the poem over the literal meaning of the words.

5 *Délie* 352 is perhaps the first of many French imitations of Petrarch's imitation of Virgil. Scève himself elaborated the same image more freely in *Délie* 46. Ronsard's "Comme un Chevreuil" is another well-known reworking.

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> … est mollis flamma medullas
> interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
> Uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
> urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta….
>
> *AENEID* IV.66–69

> […an enervating flame constantly gnaws at the marrow of her bones and a silent wound throbs in her breast. Unhappy Dido burns and rushes aimlessly throughout the city like a hind which, with an arrow….]

We are surely meant not only to recognize the simile as Virgilian but to recall the original context and function of that simile, and to realize that in appropriating Virgil's words and applying his simile to themselves, Petrarch and Scève were implicitly identifying their own state of mind as that of a woman—not just any woman, but a powerful and virile queen, weakened, emasculated, driven ultimately to suicide by the power of love. Lest we miss this crucial point, the emblem accompanying another epigram of the *Délie* represents a stag with an arrow in its side, surrounded by the words: "Fuyant ma mort j'haste ma fin" (159, emblem) ["Fleeing my death I hasten my end"]. Presumably spoken by the stag itself, this is a clear reference to the Virgilian text on which epigram 352 is based—"qualis coniecta cerva sagitta /…/ illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat / Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo" (*Aeneid* IV.69 and 72–73, quoted above). And because this same *devise* reappears almost verbatim in the final line of accompanying epigram—"Fuyant la mort j'accelere ma fin" (*Délie* 159, v. 10, quoted above)—we are meant to understand that Scève the lover has appropriated for himself words that are appropriate and attributed to Dido, speaking in his own person and in his own voice the passion of a woman in love.

As surprising as such a suggestion may seem, it recurs even more explicitly in a second example of double imitation, this one taking its point of departure not in a simile but in the well-known topos of nocturnal torment as it appears, once again, in Book IV of the *Aeneid*:

> Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa *soporem*
> corpora per terras; silvaeque et saeva quierant
> aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
> cum *tacet* omnis ager, *pecudes pictaeque volucres*,
> quaeque lacus late liquidos, quaeque aspera dumis
> rura tenent, *somno* positae sub nocte silenti;
> lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum.

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> At non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam
> solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
> accipit; ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
> saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.
>
> *AENEID* IV.522–32, emphasis added

> [It was night, and weary creatures throughout the world were embracing sweet slumber (*soporem*); the woods and the raging seas were still, as the stars turn midway through their course, as every field is silent (*tacet*), and flocks and brightly colored birds—those that range far and wide over ponds and lakes and those that live in the brambles of the fields—all fast asleep (*somno*) in the quiet of night, soothed their hearts in forgetfulness of cares and labors. But not unhappy Dido. She does not lose herself in sleep, nor does she admit the night into her eyes or heart. Her anguish redoubles, love rushes back to assail her, and she is tossed about on a roiling sea of passions.]

Petrarch imitates Virgil's "nox erat" in sonnet 164 of the *Rime sparse*, which begins by contrasting the quiet repose that settles over all living creatures at nightfall and the nocturnal torment of an agitated insomniac lover

> Or che 'l ciel et la terra e 'l vento *tace*
> et *le fere et gli augelli* il *sonno* affrena,
> notte il carro stellato in giro mena
> et nel suo letto il mar senz' onda giace,
> *vegghio*, penso, ardo, piango....
>
> *RIME SPARSE* 164.1–5, emphasis added

> [Now that the heavens and the earth and the wind are silent (*tace*), and sleep (*sonno*) reins in the beasts and the birds, Night drives her starry car about, and in its bed the sea lies without a wave, I am awake, I think I burn, I weep.]

Scève, imitating Petrarch, alludes to the same "nox erat" topos in several epigrams, the most obvious of which is *Délie* 98:

> Le Dieu Imberbe au giron de Thetys
> Nous fait des montz les grandz umbres descendre:
> *Moutons* cornuz, *Vaches*, et *Veaulx* petitz,
> En leurs parcz clos serrez se viennent rendre.

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Lors tout vivant à son *repos* veult tendre,
Où dessus moy nouveau *resveil* s'espreuve.
Car moy constraint, et par forcée preuve
Le soir me couche esveillé hors de moy,
Et le matin veillant aussi me treuve,
Tout esploré en mon piteux esmoy.

DÉLIE 98, emphasis added

[The beardless god, sunk in the arms of Thetys, makes long shadows descend from the mountains; horned sheep, cows and baby calves return in a huddle to the safety of their pens. Then every living creature seeks its rest, while I am assailed by a new wakefulness. Forced by necessity and tormented by my travails, I go to bed in the evening wide awake and out of my mind, and the morning finds me still awake, in tears in a pitiable state.]

The first two lines of Scève's poem contain other Virgilian echoes as well.[6] But the mention of all creatures ("corpora" / "tout vivant"), including beasts of the fields ("pecudes" / "moutons, vaches, veaux"), sunk in sweet slumber ("placidum soporem" and "somno" / "repos"), and the clear opposition between universal tranquility and individual agitation, are unmistakable echoes of Dido's torment the night before Aeneas's final departure from Carthage. Once again, the suffering lover is indirectly but unmistakably identified with Virgil's Carthaginian queen, an unhappy woman ("infelix Dido") lost to love, and lost by love. And once again Scève makes the implications of his imitation explicit elsewhere, in an emblem and its accompanying epigram. The emblem to *Délie* 114 represents Dido, explicitly identified as such, at the moment she commits suicide by falling on Aeneas's sword. The superficially inappropriate title of the emblem ("Dido qui se brusle") ["Dido's self-immolation"], and the surrounding *devise* ("Doulce la mort qui de dueil me delivre") ["Sweet is the death that delivers me from sorrow"] both allude directly to love-lorn Dido's tragic end as it is narrated in *Aeneid* IV.642–71. Here again the companion epigram ends with a paraphrase of the *devise*—"Croire fauldra, que la Mort doulce soit, / Qui

6 Most notably a passage from Book III of the *Aeneid*: "sol ruit interea et montes umbrantur opaci" (III.508) ["meanwhile the sun sinks down and the mountains are darkened by shadows"] and the last lines of the first eclogue: "et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant / maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae" (*Eclogues* 1.82–83) ["and now smoke is rising from the rooftops in the distance / and longer shadows are descending from the lofty mountains"].

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l'Ame peult d'angoisse delivrer" (*Délie* 114.9–10) ["I must conclude that death is sweet, since it can deliver a soul from its anguish"]—thus suggesting that Scève has assumed the voice and the role of an exemplary woman in love. The conclusion to which both of these cases of double Virgilian imitation lead is that for Scève, as for Petrarch, to love is to be like Dido, tragically reduced from the manliness and power of a sovereign to the helpless desperation of an abandoned woman. To be a Petrarchan lover is, paradoxically, to feel and to speak like a woman.

Petrarch and Scève hint at this same paradox in ways unrelated to Virgil or to Dido. The second sonnet of the *Rime sparse* comes close to stating it explicitly, by describing the *innamoramento* as a humiliating defeat at the hands of an aggressive and vindictive Cupid:

> Era la *mia virtute* al cor ristretta
> per far ivi et negli occhi sue difese
> quando 'l colpo mortal là giù discese
> ove solea spuntarsi ogni saetta;
> però turbata nel primiero assalto
> non ebbe tanto né *vigor* né spazio
> che potesse al bisogno prender l'arme,
> o vero al poggio faticoso et alto
> ritrarmi accortamente da lo strazio
> del quale oggi vorebbe, et non po aitarme.
>
> *RIME SPARSE* 2.5–14, emphasis added
>
> [My vital power (*virtute*) was concentrated in my heart, to make there and in my eyes his defense, when the fatal blow fell where every previous arrow had been blunted; therefore, confused in the first assault, he lacked both strength (*vigor*) and time to take up arms in this need, or to lead me up the weary high mountain away from the slaughter, out of which now he would wish to help me, but cannot.[7]]

In this well-known liminal account of his first sight of Laura and immediate fall into love, Petrarch represents himself as completely un-manned by love, suddenly deprived of his moral vigor and virility (*virtute* < *virtus*), incapable of action, too weak to make the arduous climb up the mountain of virtue. His

7 So Durling. "His defense" and "he" should more properly be read "its defense" and "it," to indicate more clearly that both pronouns refer to "my vital power" (*la mia virtute*).

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love is a "passion" in the strongest, etymological sense of the word: something one experiences or suffers passively (*passio* < *patior*), as opposed to an "action," which is something one actually does (*actio* < *ago*). As a lover, Petrarch is not an acting subject or an agent, but a passive object and a victim. He is literally un-manned by love.

Not just un-manned, but transgendered, as is suggested throughout the *Rime sparse* by that peculiar manner of speech we call the "Petrarchan" style—the "vario stile in ch'io piango et ragiono / fra le vane speranze e'l van dolore" (1.5–6) ["varied style in which I weep and speak between vain hopes and vain sorrow"]. Far more than the courtly tradition ever allowed, Petrarch sighs, weeps, faints, languishes, suffers night and day without respite and without effect: "Vegghio, penso, ardo, piango; et chi mi sface sempre m'è inanzi per mia dolce pena" (164.5–6) ["I am awake, I think, I burn, I weep; and she who destroys me is always before me, to my sweet pain"]. His sighs and tears and copious vain words are not simply the mark of a "giovenile errore" (1.3) ["youthful error"]. They are the unmistakable outward manifestations of a profound moral and psychological pathology—a weakness which long tradition had associated precisely with the weaker sex. For Petrarch, love not only un-mans; it feminizes.[8]

This peculiarity, too, Scève imitated faithfully in his *Délie*, adopting as his own the Petrarchan notion of *innamoramento* as a kind of emasculation:

> Ce doulx venin, qui de tes yeulx distille,
> *M'amolit* plus en *ma virilité*[9]
> Que ne feit onc au Printemps inutile
> Ce jeune Archier guidé d'agilité.
>
> *DÉLIE* 388.1–4, emphasis added

8 It is important to distinguish here between the voice that speaks within a poem and the craft of the poet who actually wrote the poem. The feminized lover is of course a persona. His effeminate weakness is a rhetorical effect produced by great poetic mastery. This obvious distinction explains why the same language that is so ineffectual *within* the fiction of Petrarch's poetry is so powerful *as* a poetic fiction, and why a poet like Petrarch could hope to achieve the virile triumph of literary glory (laurels) through the feminized poetry of failure (Laura). My focus here is entirely and exclusively on the persona of the lover, not at all on the person of the poet.

9 The primary meaning of "en ma virilité" here is "in my adult life," as opposed to "in my youth" ("au Printemps"), but the expression is deliberately ambivalent: love "softens" the lover ("m'amollit") in his "manliness" as well as in his "adulthood."

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> [The sweet poison that distills from your eyes softens me in my virility [virile age] more than the alert and agile young archer [Cupid] ever did in my idle springtime]

and expressing this emasculation in a Petrarchan style of speech that abounds in vain sighs, tearful laments, and swooning cries for mercy:

> Et de ma vie …
> Et de mon estre …
> Ne m'est resté, que ces deux signes cy:
> L'oeil larmoyant pour piteuse te rendre,
> La bouche ouverte à demander merci. (82.5 and 7–10)

> [Of my life … and of my existence, nothing remains but these two signs: an eye, brimming with tears to awaken your compassion, and a mouth, open to beg for mercy.]

But Scève was not content merely to imitate Petrarch's feminizing allusions to Dido and his feminized persona and speech. He deliberately set about to surpass his model, in this as in other respects, by actually inverting the genders of the two principal players in the Petrarchan drama, the lover and his lady. He does this by means of strongly gendered metaphors, comparisons, and analogies in which contrasting male and female terms are applied in such a way as to identify the lady as unambiguously masculine, and the first-person lover as unambiguously feminine. A relatively straightforward example of this practice may be seen in *Délie* 443:

> Combien qu'à nous soit cause le Soleil
> Que toute chose est tresclerement veue:
> Ce neantmoins pour trop arrester l'œil
> En sa splendeur l'on pert soubdain la veue.
> Mon ame ainsi de son object pourveue
> De tous mes sens me rend abandonné,
> Comme si lors en moy tout estonné
> Semeles fust en presence ravie
> De son Amant de fouldre environné,
> Qui luy ostast par ses esclairs la vie.
>
> *DÉLIE* 443

> [Although the sun allows us to see all things clearly, if we fix our gaze too intently on its splendor we immediately lose our sight. Thus my soul,

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> having attained its object, deprives me of all my senses, as if within me, thunder-struck, Semele were ravished by her Lover, seeing him face-to-face surrounded by lightning, and he destroyed her life with his lightning bolts.]

Scève here describes the intellectual and spiritual bedazzlement experienced by the lover whenever he gazes directly upon—or perhaps simply contemplates too intently—the object of his desire, Délie: "Mon ame … de son object pourveue / De tous mes sens me rend abandonné" (5–6). But he gives a peculiar twist to this simple conceit by means of a double comparison. The "ainsi" of line 5 relates the psychological experience of the poet to the physical blindness described in the first four lines of the poem, while the "Comme si" of line 7 relates the same experience to a mythological instance of fatal blinding evoked in the last four lines of the poem. Though very different in their tenor (ocular trauma versus classical myth), these two comparisons are entirely consistent and complementary in their psycho-sexual implications. According to the first comparison, Scève's soul is like an eye blinded by gazing upon the sun. According to the second, Scève's soul is like Semele—that is, a mortal woman in love with an immortal god—struck dead upon beholding "en presence" the divine effulgence of Jupiter in all his glory (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.288–309). In both cases Scève's role is passive and even female, while Délie's role is active and decidedly male. The epigram metaphorically transforms the nominally lunar "Délie" first into a radiant, masculine sun and then, more astonishingly, into a potent male lover, Jupiter, father of gods and men, while at the same time transforming the nominally male Scève into a ravished female beloved, Semele.[10]

Délie 141 achieves a similar effect by exploiting another ocular-solar metaphor coupled with another well-known classical myth:

> Comme des raiz du Soleil gracieux
> Se paissent fleurs durant la Primevere,
> Je me recrée aux rayons de ses yeulx,
> Et loing, et près autour d'eulx persevere,
> Si que le Cœur, qui en moy la revere,

10 Intimations of the same assimilation to Semele may perhaps be discerned in *Délie* 288. After describing the overwhelming effect on his senses and imagination of a painted portrait of his lady, the speaker of this poem concludes: "Que deviendroys je en la voyant lors vive? / Certainement je tumberois en cendre" ["What would I become if I saw her in person? Surely I would be reduced to ashes"].

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La me feit veoir en celle mesme essence,
Que feroit l'Oeil par sa belle presence
Que tant je honnore, et que tant je poursuys:
Parquoy de rien ne me nuyt son absence,
Veu qu'en tous lieux, maulgré moy, je la suys.
DÉLIE 141

[As flowers in springtime are nourished by the rays of the kindly sun, so I am restored by the beams of her eyes and follow them near and far, so that my heart, which within me reveres her, allows me to see her in the same essence that the eye would see her in her presence, which I so honor and pursue. For this reason I am not harmed by her absence, seeing that I follow her in spite of myself wherever she goes.]

The conventional courtly idea that the lady is always present in her lover's heart and mind, even when she is physically absent, is introduced in the first two lines of the poem by means of a comparison assimilating Délie's eyes to the sun and Scève himself to spring flowers which are regenerated by the sun's life-giving rays. The transgendering effect of this comparison is obvious: Délie is again cast in the role of the active, masculine sun (*le* Soleil), Scève in that of a dependent, feminine flower (*la* fleur). Less obvious and more interesting is the way this initial image is extended and elaborated in the following lines: like a phototropic flower, the lover's heart (5), no less than his eye (7), follows his radiant lady wherever she goes. The primary function of this conceit is to prepare and justify the lover's final claim that "en tous lieux, maulgré moy, je la suys" (10). A secondary function is to assimilate the lover specifically to the heliotrope, and thus implicitly to Clytia, the nymph of mythology whose unrequited love for the sun was so immoderate that she began to waste away, rooted to a single spot but pivoting to follow the orbiting sun with her gaze—"nec se movit humo; tantum spectabat euntis / ora dei vultusque suos flectebat ad illum" ["Nor did she move from the ground, but looked at the face of the god as he moved, turning her face toward him"]—until she was metamorphosed into this very flower, in which form she continues to turn her face toward the sun wherever he goes: "vertitur ad Solem mutataque servat amorem" ["She turns toward her sun and, though changed, still loves"].[11] The emblem that accompanies this epigram reinforces this association, showing heliotropes turning their face to a setting (rising?) sun, surrounded by words that are echoed in

11 *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses*, ed. R. J. Tarrant Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 4.264–65 and 270. Translations of Ovid are my own.

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the last line of the poem: "En tous lieux je te suis" ["I follow you everywhere"]. In epigram 141, no less than in epigram 443, Scève assumes an overtly female sexual persona, identifying his beloved as a dominant masculine force and himself as a well-known woman of mythology who was consumed by her inalterable love for a male god.

Elsewhere Scève achieves the same effect without recourse to conventional mythology, by exploiting comparisons and metaphors drawn from the natural world. A simple example is found in *Délie* 223, where the lady is once again assimilated to the sun, the lover to the feminine dew which immediately evaporates in the overpowering heat of the sun:

> Parquoy pensif, …
> M'esbatois seul, quand celle me vint contre,
> Qui devant moy si soubdain se demonstre,
> Que par un brief, et doulx salut de l'oeil,
> Je me deffis à si belle rencontre,
> Comme rousée au lever du Soleil.
>
> *DÉLIE* 223.5–10

> [And so I was enjoying the springtime, pensive and alone, when she happened upon me, appearing so suddenly before me that with one brief, sweet glance I was at once undone, like dew at sunrise.]

A more interesting example is found in Scève's provocative reworking of the well-known topos of the confluence, or "marriage," of the Rhône and Saône rivers. In two epigrams of the *Délie* Scève elaborates this topos in a conventional way by describing the rapid, impetuous Rhône as a figuratively male and grammatically masculine river (*le* Rhône), and the placid, slow-moving Saône as a figuratively female and grammatically feminine river (*la* Saône), conjoined at Lyon, where male and female become one in a mystical, sensual union (*Délie* 17 and 396).[12] But in *Délie* 346 he gives a bizarre, unexpected twist to the topos:

> A si hault bien de tant saincte amytié
> Facilement te debvroit inciter,
> Sinon debvoir, ou honneste pitié,
> A tout le moins mon loyal persister,

12 See also *Délie* 395 and *La Saulsaye* (quoted by McFarlane in his edition of the *Délie*, 459). For the impetuous masculinity of the Rhône, see Petrarch's "rapido fiume" of *Rime sparse* 208 and Scève's rewriting of this sonnet in *Délie* 417.

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Pour unyment, et ensemble assister
Lassus en paix en nostre eternel throsne.
N'apperçoy tu de l'Occident le Rhosne
Se destourner, et vers Midy courir,
Pour seulement se conjoindre à sa Saone
Jusqu'à leur Mer, ou tous deux vont mourir?

DÉLIE 346

[To the sublime end of such holy friendship you should be easily moved, if not by duty or honorable pity, then at least by my loyal persistence, so that together, united, we can sit in peace on our eternal throne above. Do you not see how the Rhône turns away from the west and runs toward the south, for no other purpose than to join with his Saône all the way to the sea, where they go to die together?]

In the first six lines the poet casts himself in the role of the active male lover whose "loyal persister," even more than his lady's relatively passive "debvoir" and "honneste pitié," should be sufficient to "incite" the lady to join him in the sublime heights of "saincte amytié." The lover is steadfast in his virile striving upward; the lady is placid to the point of inertia and must therefore be moved by the man's speech and example to join the lover in his motion upward toward a more complete serenity "lassus." The river analogy of the last four lines is offered as a natural illustration of the change of course the poet is urging on his lady. Just as the Rhône bends to join the Saône, so the poet would have his lady bend to join him.

But on closer inspection the analogy appears to offer a kind of inverted mirror image of the mystical union desired by the poet. The upward striving of souls toward heaven ("à si hault bien … lassus") is transposed to a downward, southerly falling of rivers toward the sea ("de l'Occident … vers Midy … jusqu'à leur Mer"), and eternal life ("nostre eternel throsne") is transposed to death ("où tous deux vont mourir"). In this inverted image, the lover's constant aspiration upward corresponds to the inexorable downward course of the Saône, while the pliant detour urged on the lady corresponds to that of the Rhône, which so dramatically changes its course and its nature at Lyon. In other words, the analogy of *Délie* 346 paradoxically casts Scève not in the role of the virile Rhône but in the role of the languid, feminine Saône, while casting Délie in the role not of the Saône but of the impetuous, male Rhône. In this inverted image of his own upward striving, Scève deliberately inverts the genders of the lover and his lady, feminizing the male lover while masculinizing the female beloved in a kind of erotic anticipation of the androgynous union in which male and

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female merge in the feminized "Rhône" that flows so gently from Lyon to its death in the sea.[13]

Even more explicit is epigram 200, which develops the cosmological analogy of a lunar eclipse:

> Phebé luysant' par ce Globe terrestre
> Entreposé à sa clarté privée
> De son opaque, argentin, et cler estre
> Soubdainement, pour un temps, est privée.[14]
> Et toy, de qui m'est tousjours derivée
> Lumiere, et vie, estant de moy loingtaine
> Par l'espaisseur de la terre haultaine,
> Qui nous separe en ces haultz Montz funebres,
> Je sens mes yeulx se dissouldre en fontaine,
> Et ma pensée offusquer en tenebres.
>
> *DÉLIE* 200

[Shining Phoebe, by this terrestrial globe interposed before her own private light, of her opaque, silvery, bright being is suddenly, for a while, deprived. And you, from whom my light and life are perpetually derived, when you are distant from me because of the mass of the haughty earth that separates us by these tall funereal mountains, I feel my eyes dissolve into a fountain, and my thought darken in shadows.]

13 I use "androgynous" here not in the platonic sense authorized by Aristophanes's comic speech in the *Symposium*, but in the more profoundly erotic and poetic sense authorized by the story of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 4.285–388.

14 The meaning of these first four lines, though initially obscure, becomes self-evident once the lines are properly parsed: "Phebé luysante [the moon] est … privée de son opaque, argentin, et cler estre [is deprived of its light] par ce Globe terrestre [by the earth] entreposé à sa clarté privée [interposed between the moon and its source of light, the sun]." Scève has strained natural word order in these lines in such a way as to reproduce on the level of syntax the very phenomenon he is describing. The simple sentence "Phebé … est privée" is interrupted and impeded by the intervention of its two complements ("par ce Globe," "de son estre"), which separate the subject and verb of the sentence in the same way that the moon's reflected luminosity is interrupted and impeded by the interposition of the earth between the source of that light and the moon itself. In the syntax, as in the image, an obstruction intervenes between the subject and the predicate, and a momentary "eclipse" of meaning results.

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The constant assimilation throughout Scève's *canzoniere* of Délie to the moon naturally leads us to expect that the "shining Phoebe" of the first line will correspond to the poet's lady here also. Scève deliberately encourages this expectation at the *volta* of the epigram in line 5, by means of a powerful formal and syntactical parallelism between the moon of the quatrain and the lady of the rest: "Phebé luysant' …// Et toy…." But the epigrammatic conclusion of the poem reverses this expectation. The grammatical and thematic subject of the second part of the epigram is not the "toy" of line 5, but the "Je" of line 9: "Je sens mes yeulx se dissouldre en fontaine, et ma pensée offusquer en tenebres" (9–10). According to the explicit terms of this analogy, Scève dissolves in tears and is plunged into darkness when his lady's radiance is hidden by the intervening mountains, just as the moon becomes dark and dewy when her sun is hidden by the intervening earth. The epigram is unambiguous in casting Délie in the role of a radiant sun, and Scève himself in the role of the watery moon. By means of an unexpected twist in the lunar analogy of the first four lines, Scève has deliberately transformed his Délie from a lunar lady into a light-giving, life-giving Phoebus, and himself from an Apollonian poet-lover into a bereft, weeping "Phoebe." The implications of this transformation are unambiguous: in the unequal relationship between an absent lady and her suffering lover, Délie is the active, solar male; Scève the passive, lunar female.

A more complex example of the same phenomenon is found in the well-known epigram 79:

> L'Aulbe estaingnoit Estoilles à foison,
> Tirant le jour des regions infimes,
> Quand Apollo montant sur l'Orison
> Des montz cornuz doroit les haultes cymes.
> Lors du profond des tenebreux Abysmes,
> Ou mon penser par ses fascheux ennuyz
> Me fait souvent perçer les longues nuictz,
> Je revoquay à moy l'ame ravie:
> Qui, dessechant mes larmoyantz conduictz,
> Me feit cler veoir le Soleil de ma vie.
>
> *DÉLIE* 79

> [Dawn was extinguishing stars in abundance, drawing up the day from the lower regions, when Apollo, rising to the horizon, gilded the highest peaks of the horned mountains. Then from the depths of the dark abyss where my thoughts with their tedious cogitations often make me traverse

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> the long nights, I called back to myself my ravished soul which, drying my tearing ducts, allowed me to see clearly the sun of my life.]

This poem describes the return to consciousness and rationality after a night of fitful dreams or obsessive, tearful, half-waking hallucinations. At daybreak the waking poet summons, or "recalls," his ravished soul back from the depths of the dark abyss where it had spent the night in anguish. The first four lines serve to establish not only a temporal setting (in the imperfect tense) for the singular action of the last six lines (in the perfect tense)—"L'Aulbe estoignoit…./ Lors … je revoquay"—but also, and more importantly, a cosmological analogue to the psychological phenomenon described in lines 5–10: the return of the sun ("le jour," "Apollo") from the "regions infimes" to the "Orison" is strictly parallel to the return of the poet's own soul from the "tenebreux Abysmes" to the threshold of consciousness.

The interest of this analogy for our purposes is that it effects two complementary gender inversions. First, it assimilates the rational male poet ("je") to the feminine dawn ("Aulbe") and implicitly to the female goddess Aurora: "*I* called back my soul" just as "*Dawn* draws forth the day." Second, it assimilates the beloved lady to the masculine god, Phoebus Apollo: "the sun of my life" (Délie) appears in all her splendor in line 10 just as "Apollo," rising to the horizon, gilds the mountaintops in line 4. This second assimilation comes about in a rather curious way. The logic of the poem initially suggests that the poet's own (feminine) soul is being masculinized by assimilation to the (masculine) day: Scève calls back his "ame ravie" in the same way that the dawn draws up "le jour." But the point of the poem—and the *pointe* of the epigram—is precisely that Scève's soul, though diurnal, is not a sun. On the contrary, it is brought back to life only by the sight of its true, life-giving sun, Délie, "Soleil de ma vie." It is of course a Petrarchan commonplace to refer to the lady as his *sole*. But Scève has gone out of his way in this epigram to exploit the psycho-sexual consequences of this conventional regendering. Délie is not simply a sun; she is a Phoebus Apollo, archer-god of light and poetry, while Scève himself is a rosy-fingered Dawn and a passive, weeping, ravished soul.

As a final example let us consider a metaphorical identification that is somewhat less obvious than the others, but no less unambiguous in its implications:

> Tu es le Corps, Dame, et je suis ton umbre,
> Qui en ce mien continuel silence
> Me fais mouvoir, non comme Hecate l'Umbre,
> Par ennuieuse et grande violence,

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Mais par povoir de ta haulte excellence,
En me mouvant au doulx contournement
De tes faictz, et plus soubdainement
Que l'on ne veoit l'umbre suyvre le corps,
Fors que je sens trop inhumainement
Noz sainctz vouloirs estre ensemble discords.

DÉLIE 376

[You are the body, Lady, and I am your shadow [*ombre*]: you make me move in utter silence, not as Hecate does the shade [*ombre*], by force and with great distress, but by the power of your high excellence, moving me to conform to the gentle motion of your acts, more immediately than we see the shadow [*ombre*] follow its body, except that I feel only too cruelly that our holy wills are not in harmony.]

The poem is quite explicit in casting the lady as an active, all-powerful *domina*, the lover as a passive, obedient *servus*. Scève's every movement is in fact a direct and immediate response to some prior, sovereign act or gesture performed by his lady. This inverted power relationship is reinforced by the identification of Délie as a masculine body (*le* corps) and Scève as her feminine shadow (*une* ombre). As the lady moves, so moves the lover, following her like a shadow, without a word, powerless to do otherwise. The conventional feminization of the courtly lover could hardly be more explicit than this.

But the poem is perhaps even more subversive than first appears. According to a received idea inherited from classical antiquity and widely accepted in the Renaissance, matter is by nature feminine in its passive inertness, while the soul, or spirit, or mind is masculine in its ability to order, animate, and give form to matter. Aristotle gives clearest expression to this idea in the *Generation of Animals*, where he explains why sexual reproduction requires the participation of both a male and a female. "The male," he states, "possesses the principle of movement and of generation [κίνησις and γένεσις], while the female possesses the principle of matter [ὕλη]."[15] Now, since a living animal is by definition "a body with soul in it [τὸ ζῷον σῶμα ἔμψυχόν ἐστιν]," the generation of an animal requires a female to provide the material [ὕλη] and a male to provide that which fashions the material into shape [δημιουργοῦν]. "Thus the physical

15 Aristotle. *Generation of Animals*, with an English translation by A. L. Peck. Loeb Classical Library. Revised edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, and London: Heinemann, 1953), I 1 [716a].

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part, the body [σῶμα], comes from the female, and the soul [ψυχή] from the male" (II 4 [738b]). In other words, bodies are female; the souls that animate them are male.

This idea found frequent expression in the Renaissance, sometimes with a neo-Platonic twist, as in the *Dialoghi d'amore*, where Leone Ebreo fuses the biblical genesis story with Plato's myth of the androgyne. In the form first created by God in his own image, Leone explains in Pontus de Tyard's French translation, every human being

> ha une partie masculine parfaite et active, asavoir l'entendement [*intelletto*], et une partie feminine imparfaite et passive, qui est le corps et la matiere: parquoy l'image de Dieu est imprimée en la matiere; car la forme, qui est le masle, est l'entendement, et la chose formée, qui est la femelle, est le corps. Donq ces deux parties masculine et feminine estoient unies ensemble en union parfaite, au commencement, en l'homme parfait que Dieu fit: tellement que le corporel sensuel feminin suivoit, comme obeïssant, l'entendement et raison masculine, parquoy il n'y avoit aucune diversité en l'homme, duquel la vie estoit toute intellectuelle.[16]
>
> [has a masculine part which is perfect and active—namely, the intellect—and a feminine part which is imperfect and passive, which is the body and matter. Thus is the image of God stamped into matter, for form, which is the male, is the intellect, and the thing formed, which is the

16 *Dialogues d'amour. The French translation attributed to Pontus de Tyard and published in Lyon, 1551, by Jean de Tournes*, ed. Anthony Perry (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974), 249. See also Agrippa d'Aubigné's *Les Tragiques*, where the angel who has served as a heavenly guide says to the disincarnated "Esprit" of the poet: "Retourne à ta moitié, .../ ... voilà ton *corps* sanglant et blesme / Recueilly à Thalcy, sur une table, seul, / A qui on a donné pour suaire un linceul. / Rapporte luy la vie en l'amour naturelle / Que, son *masle*, tu dois porter à ta *femelle*" ["Return to your other half, .../ ... there is your body, lying bleeding and blanched / in Talcy, alone on a table, / covered with a shroud instead of a sheet. / Restore life to it with the natural love that you, as its male, owe to your female"]. Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Les Tragiques*, in *Œuvres*, eds. Henri Weber, Jacques Bailbé and Marguerite Soulié (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 6.1417 and 1426–30, emphasis added. And Montaigne: "Il faut ordonner à *l'ame* ... de se r'allier à luy [*sc.* au *corps*], de l'embrasser, le cherir, luy assister, le contreroller, le conseiller, le redresser et ramener quand il fourvoye, l'espouser en somme et luy servir de *mary*" ["We must order our *soul* ... to ally itself with [our *body*], to embrace it, cherish it, assist it, supervise it, counsel it, correct it and call it back when it strays, in short: marry it and serve as its *husband*"]. *Les Essais de Montaigne. Edition conforme au texte de l'exemplaire de Bordeaux*, ed. Pierre Villey. Revised edition by V.-L. Saulnier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978), II.17, 639, emphasis added.

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female, is the body. In the beginning these two parts, masculine and feminine, were so united in perfect union in the perfect men that God created, that the corporeal, sensual, feminine followed the masculine intellect and reason as if obeying them, so that there was no division in man, whose life was entirely intellectual.]

Now if each individual person has a body which is female, infused with a spirit or soul or mind which is male, it comes as no surprise that when two individual people meet and love and fuse, the woman is necessarily the "body" and the man is necessarily the "spirit" or the "soul" or the "rational mind." Scève's contemporaries were quite explicit about this metaphorical consequence. Juan Luis Vives in his *De institutione foeminae Christianae* (1523) states as a self-evident, irrefutable fact that "en union de mariage l'homme est l'ame et la femme le corps: l'ung commande et l'autre sert" (2.3) ["in matrimonial union the man is the soul and the woman the body: one commands, the other obeys"].[17]

By substituting a mere shadow ("ombre") for a spirit or a soul or a mind, Scève subverts the massive Aristotelian, neo-Platonic, and evangelical tradition which his poem deliberately recalls. Yes, the lady is indeed a "body" ("Tu es le Corps, Dame"), but not in the sense that she is mere matter, incomplete without the active male "soul" that will give her form and movement. On the contrary, she is a perfectly autonomous, self-determined, and self-willed "body" that gives form and movement to the shadow of a man whose every move depends uniquely and entirely upon her.[18]

17 Translation by Pierre de Changy (1542), quoted in Guillerm et al., *Miroir des femmes*, 76. This lapidary statement is framed in Vives's treatise by the following passages, which clearly indicate the relevance of the body-soul couple to the whole question of traditional sexual hierarchies discussed above: "C'est chose ridicule et execrable, que la dame pervertissant et gastant les loix de nature, prefere sa reputation à celle de celluy qu'elle a prins pour *seigneur et maistre*: comme le chevalier qui veult commander à l'empereur, le paysant à son seigneur, la lune au soleil, et le bras à la teste.... Et, comme dict sainct Paul, 'l'homme est la teste de la femme' [Eph 5.23; cf. 1 Cor 11.3]" (emphasis added) ["It is absurd and abominable for a lady, perverting and corrupting the laws of nature, to prefer her own reputation to that of the man she has taken as her *lord* and *master*, like a knight who would give orders to an emperor, a peasant to his lord, the moon to the sun, the arm to the head.... And as Saint Paul says, 'the man is the head of the woman' (Eph 5.23; cf. 1 Cor 11.3)"]. This French version of Vives's work was often reprinted in Lyon by Louise Labé's own printer, Jean de Tournes.

18 Other poets suggested something similar by simply reversing the conventional body-soul dichotomy. See, for example, sonnet 3 of Olivier de Magny's *Amours* (1553): "*Ame* de moy, non *espouze*, mais *Dame* / De mon las cueur, tant rongé de soucy, .../ Sans vous estant, je suis du tout estaint, / Car vous guidez *ce corps* d'Amour ataint, / Et luy soufflez sa vigueur la plus forte" ["My *soul*—not wife but lady of my weary heart so worn with

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In all of these examples Scève's originality consists in giving clear metaphorical expression to a curious, largely unrecognized fact about Petrarchan love—namely, that love not only emasculates and even feminizes the lover but re-genders the two principal players. The nominally male lover is a Semele to Jupiter, a Clytia to Apollo, a languid Saône to a rapid Rhône, an eclipsed moon or a rosy dawn to a radiant sun, a mere shadow to living, breathing body. In love, the man is the woman and the woman is the man.

What are we to make of all of this? I will conclude by suggesting two things. First is a tentative explanation. It seems to me possible that the feminization of the lover, which Scève discerned in Petrarch's poetry and accentuated in his own, had already been latent in the courtly tradition to which Petrarch himself was heir. From the beginning, what we call "courtly love" was in fact founded on a radical sexual anomaly.[19] The lady, by social station as much as by intrinsic worth and power, is always superior to her lover. The relationship between the lover and his lady is in fact exactly analogous to the feudal relationship between a vassal and his lord, as the precise terminology of courtly love constantly reminds us: the lover typically refers to his lady as a "dame" (< *domina*) because she is the female equivalent of his feudal *dominus*. In the sixteenth century, he began calling her "maistresse" for the precisely the same reason: *maîtresse* is the feminine form of *maître*, or master (< *magister* < *magis*). The lover's corresponding term for himself is "serviteur" or "serf," because he has subordinated his will and his person to his lady-lord in a literal act of "hommage"—that is,

worry,—… without you I am dead, for you govern this *body* wounded by Love and breath into it all the vigor it possesses"].

19 I use the contested term "courtly love" here in a very limited sense to refer to a particular amatory relationship implied or stated in a lyric tradition originating with the Old Provençal *troubadours* and Old French *trouvères* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and continuing uninterrupted through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries well into the sixteenth. I exclude from this notion the less sublimated relationships found in some of the earliest poems of this tradition, which were gradually eliminated from courtly lyric and relegated to more popular forms: relationships involving physical consummation, coarse cynicism, mutual desire, and explicit female desire. I also exclude representations of love that occur in narrative works ("courtly romance"), where the male protagonist can continue to behave in a conventionally masculine fashion, performing feats of arms and imposing his will on others even when he is in love, sometimes even achieving physical consummation of his adulterous love (cf. Lancelot and Guinevere). In most courtly *lyric* of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, the male speaker does not act, does not achieve, does not impose his will on anyone, and never approaches anything like consummation. Thus limited, the term "courtly love" will serve as a useful shorthand for the particular aspect of love poetry that is my sole concern here.

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by a formal gift of himself as an *homme*, or "man," to his sovereign—with the conventional pledges of perpetual "foi" (< *fides*, loyalty) and "service" by which the vassal binds himself to his lord upon entering into the feudal pact. She is the "lord" and "master" who rules and literally "dominates;" he is the "vassal" or "servant" who submits and obeys, incapable of autonomous action but sworn to follow the sovereign will of his female lord, unworthy of her attention but eager to earn the "guerdon," or recompense, of her good grace.

This much is common knowledge. What is less commonly recognized is that this idealized courtly relationship is a perfect inversion of the traditional relationship between the sexes, not only as it was theorized by science but as it was lived in daily life and consecrated in Christian marriage. Women, being weaker and less perfect creatures than men according to overwhelming medical, legal, and theological authority that remained essentially unchallenged from antiquity to the Renaissance, were "naturally" subordinate to men in all things.[20] Wives in particular, according to the unimpeachable authority of God himself, were by definition "subject to [their] husbands.... For the husband is the head of his wife as Christ is the head of the church" (Eph. 5:22–23). In real life the woman obeyed and served the man, her lord and master. In courtly lyric, on the contrary, it is the man who obeys and serves the woman, his lord (*domina*) and master (*maistresse*). The world of courtly lyric is thus literally a *mundus inversus*, a world turned upside-down. Much of the enduring appeal of "courtly love" for so many generations of pre-modern readers may in fact have resided precisely in this charming but patently absurd, quasi-saturnalian inversion of the immutable sexual hierarchies and power structures of the real world.[21]

The feminizing effect of this inverted sexual relationship is reinforced by the language of the courtly lover. Modern readers often assume that the lover's speech is an expression of his subjectivity and a sign of his agency, while the lady's silence is a sign and symptom of her objectification and her essential powerlessness. "Language," after all, "is power." But this is an anachronistic view that would have been incomprehensible to the feudal and monarchical

20 See note 17 above. The most useful review of traditional theological, legal, and medical definitions of women, all of which remained in full force in the Renaissance, is Ian Maclean's *The Renaissance Notion of Women: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). For the social status of women, which actually declined in the Renaissance, see Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore, *Les Femmes dans la société française de la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 1990), especially Part 1 ("La femme 'incapable'").

21 Scholars of troubadour lyric have been much more attentive to this fundamental aspect of courtly lyric than have students of Renaissance love poetry. For an excellent example see Kathryn Gravdal, "Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Medieval Women Trobairitz." *Romanic Review* 83, 4 (1992), 411–26.

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cultures in which courtly lyric flourished and made sense. In pre-democratic cultures power meant precisely not having to speak. The sovereign rules in silence, meting out punishment and mercy, life and death, war and peace, with a mere glance or a nod, or at most a single word: a "yes," a "no," or a one-word imperative. It is only the powerless who must speak, and speak at great length—to petition, plead, pray, beseech, supplicate, beg, while of course constantly renewing assurances of obedience and oaths of loyalty, lest the petitioner lose what little favor his sovereign may already have deigned to grant.[22] This is, of course, precisely what the courtly lover does. He speaks incessantly because he is in the weaker position, because he is a petitioning *servus* who has nothing but words with which to advance his hopeless cause. The lady is silent because she is the *domina* who has the power and the authority to bestow or withhold what the lover wants, and to grant or refuse mercy without uttering a word.[23]

Petrarch, it would seem, merely emphasized this aspect of courtly love by portraying courtly subservience as a moral pathology that un-mans and feminizes. Scève merely took this process one step further by identifying the lover as metaphorically female, his lady as metaphorically male. The two poets were thus quite similar in that each exploited a tendency that was already present in a continuous lyric tradition, each carrying to a logical conclusion one of the most fundamental characteristics of courtly love as he knew it from his models.

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22 All this changed only with the French Revolution and the advent of republican government, as Camille Desmoulins pointedly observed in commenting on a speech given by Louis XVI before the Assemblée Nationale on February 4, 1790: "Autrefois la nation étoit longue dans ses harangues, et le roi court dans ses réponses; aujourd'hui, c'est l'inverse, depuis que la souveraineté est passée au peuple. Le président répondit [au roi] en deux mots, et fit assez bien le rôle du souverain" ["Formerly the nation was long in its speeches, the king short in his replies; now that sovereignty has been transferred to the people it is the reverse. The president answered [the king] in two words, playing very well the role of the sovereign"] (*Révolutions de France et de Brabant* 12, 545).

23 This fact was recognized as self-evident by women of the Renaissance as well as by men. Louise Labé has her Apollo state the obvious in saying: "Celle, qui se sent aymée, ha quelque *autorité* sur celui qui l'ayme: car elle voit *en son pouvoir*, ce que l'Amant poursuit, comme estant quelque grand bien et fort desirable. Cette autorité veut estre *reverée en gestes, faits, contenances, et paroles*" ["She who knows she is loved has a certain *authority* over him who loves her, for she has *in her power* the thing her lover is seeking as his greatest and most desirable end. This authority demands to be *revered in gestures, actions, appearances, and words*"] ("Débat de Folie et d'Amour" 5, in Louise Labé, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. François Rigolot (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1986), 73, emphasis added.

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My second observation concerns the consequences of this hypothesis for the way we read women poets of the Renaissance. It has long been assumed that Renaissance women were hindered from writing poetry by a lyric tradition predicated on the absence and the silence of the woman. The problem for a woman was to find a voice within a tradition that had in effect written her out.[24] But the problem begins to look rather different when we realize, as all Renaissance readers must surely have done, that the voice and even the persona of the male lover as it speaks within courtly and Petrarchan poetry was already gendered feminine. Far from precluding a woman's voice, the lyric tradition had by the sixteenth century evolved into something like the very embodiment of a woman's voice. Petrarch to an extent, and Scève to a far greater extent, had in effect *appropriated* the female voice and even co-opted her sexual identity. The problem for women poets, then, was not how to write love lyric as a woman, but how to do otherwise. A woman could sign her own name to virtually any poem by Petrarch or Scève and sound exactly like a woman in love.[25]

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24 This argument was first and most clearly articulated by Ann Rosalind Jones: "Male poets questioned the conventions they had taken over from classical and Italian poetry.... Women poets, however, write from a position outside the convention altogether, from a new and marginal space that calls into question the polarities implicit in such poetry." "Assimilation with a Difference: Renaissance Women Poets and Literary Influence," *Yale French Studies* 62 (1981), 136. It has been widely accepted and repeated by critics who have dealt with women poets of the Renaissance. For a more recent exemple, see Floyd Gray: "It was with some difficulty and self-conscious reluctance that Pernette du Guillet and Louise Labé entered into the public area of the text, partially because of traditional constraints on women's speech, but mostly because of the tactical problem of expressing themselves in a masculine world of thematic and rhetorical conventions.... Whom were they to imitate, how and what were they to write? ... The dialectic of courtly and Petrarchan love was routinely masculine, and neither had at her ready disposal an equivalent vehicle for the expression of female erotic fantasies." *Gender, Rhetoric, and Print Culture in French Renaissance Writing,* Cambridge Studies in French (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 76.

25 This is in fact what some women poets did, as if to acknowledge and accept the femininity of their male models. To cite only the best-known example, Louise Labé incorporated verbatim the quatrains of a sonnet by her supposed lover, Olivier de Magny, into the first French sonnet of her own *Euvres* (Labé, ed. Rigolot, 122 and 228). This is not to suggest that the same lines do not take on a different meaning in a poem by an actual woman (on the contrary: see François Rigolot, *Louise Labé, Lyonnaise, ou la Renaissance au féminin* [Paris: Champion, 1997], 87–95), but rather that the original poem already speaks in a recognizably "feminine" voice that can in fact speak for a real woman. As an anonymous reader of this essay kindly pointed out, the regendering of speakers was common practice

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The tradition as we can now understand it would seem to offer two obvious options to a female poet: she could simply adopt the lover's feminized speech and female identity as her own (in which case she would by writing exactly like a male poet), or she could invent a manly form of speech (that of Ovid's *Amores*, for example) and assume the persona of a virago consistent with the dominance and power attributed to the beloved in courtly lyric (in which case she would be speaking like a real man in order to sound like a courtly *domina*). In either case, she could not write like a woman without writing in some sense like a man. What was a poor woman to do?

For an answer we have to look no further than the two greatest women poets of the French Renaissance, who were intimate friends, disciples, and imitators of Maurice Scève himself: Pernette du Guillet, who is reputed to be the "real" Délie and who in any case responded directly to several poems of Scève's *Délie* in those of her own *Rimes* of 1545, and Louise Labé, whose love poetry, published in 1555, marks the culmination of the Lyonese literary Renaissance. Both of these poets have benefitted from studies based on the notion that they had to struggle to gain entry into a man's poetic world. I believe that both would benefit even more from readings based on a better understanding of that "man's poetic world" as a completely inverted world in which lovers are already by definition feminine and beloveds are already by definition masculine, and in which "female subject" and "female voice" are not oxymorons but, on the contrary, virtual tautologies.

Close readings undertaken in this spirit would undoubtedly bring to light an unsuspected brilliance in the work of both poets. Both were, of course, acutely aware of the fundamental principle that love feminizes: Louise Labé went so far as to claim that in her youth she herself had been a virago unsurpassed in the martial arts but that, like Semiramis (and, of course, like Dido), she lost her virility the moment she fell in love.[26] As a consequence of this awareness,

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in the sung lyrics of Renaissance *chansons* (Pernette du Guillet's épigramme 44 being a prime example), suggesting the degree to which the voice of erotic poetry in general is often sexually indeterminate and easily attributable to speakers of either gender. Mireille Huchon has recently brought this point to our attention even more forcefully by suggesting that "Louise Labé" was herself a persona and that her works were actually written by men. See *Louise Labé: Une Créature de papier* (Geneva: Droz, 2006).

26 See Elégie 3, lines 29–72, and Elégie 1, lines 61–90. In the second of these passages the warrior-queen Semiramis is said to have had a "cœur viril" (84) until she was unmanned by love. In the first Labé represents herself as a warrior maiden comparable to Ariosto's Bradamante and Marfisa until she too was un-manned by love. Both passages suggest that regardless of biological sex, all self-possessed people are naturally masculine until they are "denatured"—i.e., feminized—by love. (Labé's heroic examples of this

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both poets experimented with various solutions to the conundrum of the pre-feminized courtly lover, speaking sometimes as typically feminized courtly lovers, sometimes as typically masculinized courtly ladies, sometimes as an ingenious combination of the two. But both poets sometimes took a more aggressive stance toward the courtly tradition as well, contesting its transgendering conventions and inventions head-on, challenging the female sexual identity and the artificially feminine speech of their male predecessors in order to insist that they, as *women* poets, were the real women and that their nominally male lovers ought to start speaking and acting like real men. In keeping with this more oppositional stance both du Guillet and Labé frequently challenged Maurice Scève in particular, borrowing his sexually inverted metaphors, comparisons, and analogies but deliberately reassigning their male and female terms, thus regendering the transgendered roles of conventional courtly lyric.[27] The surprising effect of these corrections is to set the sexuality of courtly love straight, so to speak, and to reassert in poetry the male-dominated sexual hierarchy of the real world. A clear understanding of this effect would surely help us to appreciate these writers even more fully—not, of course, as socially conservative defenders of the sexual status quo, but as master poets who exploited the conventions and topoi of courtly lyric to achieve astonishing new effects, precisely as Petrarch and Scève had done before them.

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principle—Semiramis, Bradamante, and Marfisa—are of course comparable to, and undoubtedly inspired by, Virgil's Dido, already adduced by Petrarch, Scève, and many imitators.) If Labé feels and speaks like a woman, she suggests, it is not because she *is* a woman, but only because she loves and has therefore *become* a woman.

27 The clearest example of this procedure is a line from Labé's sonnet 7—*Je suis le corps*, toy la meilleure part" (emphasis added) ["*I am the body*, you the better part"]—which answers and flatly contradicts the first line of Scève's epigram 376: "*Tu es le Corps*, Dame, et je suis ton ombre" (emphasis added) ["*You are the body*, Lady, and I am your shadow"].

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CHAPTER 8

In Search of "La Belle Cordière": The Rise and Fall of Louise Labé

Leah L. Chang

In 1555, Jean de Tournes, an up-and-coming printer in Lyon, published a small book of poetry and prose by a first-time author: Louise Labé, also known to posterity as "La Belle Cordière" ("The beautiful rope maker").[1] We know very little about Labé. The historical and legal records tell us that she was born Louise Charly, that she was the daughter and wife of rope makers made rich by the shipping industry in Lyon. Her slim collected works, published by Tournes as the *Euvres de Louize Labé Lionnoize*, comprise a short prose dialogue on love, 3 elegies, 24 sonnets, and 24 anonymously authored (but presumably male-authored) laudatory poems. Labé's book suggests that she was well educated, could read and possibly write in several languages, and was versed in the poetic forms popular in sixteenth-century France. Here the concrete evidence ends and scholars have turned to the content of Labé's poetry to find traces of the living writer. That poetry is highly sensual, even by sixteenth-century standards. Labé's blatant sensuality has led some scholars to argue that she reflects the progressive, even proto-feminist culture of sixteenth-century Lyon; others have read that sensuality more biographically, and have suggested that Labé was likely a courtesan such as those found in Venice. We know that the *Euvres* was the only book published in Labé's name, and that the historical Labé died about ten years after its publication. As for the printer Jean de Tournes, he seems to have done fairly well with the book: he printed a second edition in 1556, and a pirated copy turned up that same year, indicating that the book was finding readers. But the *Euvres* was evidently not successful enough for Tournes to keep printing it or for other printers to pick it up. After 1556, Tournes turned to other projects, and Labé's work was never printed in full again during the sixteenth century.

The *Euvres* would seem, at best, a one-hit wonder by a little-known woman that could be easily forgotten, and so it seems to have been by most sixteenth-century publishers, despite its sensuality and novelty. And yet, the *Euvres* and its author have continued to attract attention, first sporadically and then with

1 Louise Labé, *Les Euvres de Louize Labé Lionnoize* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1555).

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increasing intensity in the last century, in part because the work seems to invite readers to tell stories about the making of the book itself and about the woman behind the book. The foundational story is compelling: it seems incredible that a woman from a family of Lyonnais rope makers could write such excellent poetry and be published by a printer who became so famous. The 1555 *Euvres* itself seems to play up that strange excellence by spinning some of these creation narratives for us. The opening laudatory poem describes Labé as a new Sappho (in the wake of Sappho's rediscovery by French and Italian humanists), while the final laudatory ode paints a portrait of Labé as a *pucelle*-like figure during Henri II's 1549 royal entry into Lyon, a pivotal event in the Lyonnais cultural memory. From its first publication in 1555, the *Euvres* and Labé-the-author have together been positioned as an inseparable pair—a poetic portrait of Labé is cultivated by the book itself—one that, moreover, functions as a kind of weathervane for the cultural movements of Labé's time. Scholars have never quite been able to pinpoint what Labé meant in the opening phrase of her dedicatory epistle when she declared to her female dedicatee that "now the time has come" for women to put down their distaffs and pick up their pens.[2] Had something happened to inspire Labé to declare women's emancipation? Whether it refers to a historical event or a simple authorial declaration that women should be writing, the emphasis on time in this memorable phrase seems to pinpoint a sense of modernity in Labé's poetic project, or a sense that the *Euvres* somehow represents its own timeliness, even its own forward thinking. The phrase conveys the sense that the *Euvres* are at the threshold of the possible—whether that possibility entails the creation of a French Sappho or the beginning of a tradition of women writers.

It is perhaps this sense of timeliness in the *Euvres* that has made the book and its author figure so adaptable across the centuries. And yet, the *Euvres* and Louise Labé the author now find themselves at a crossroads. Debates about Labé's authenticity as a writer that have found currency in the last decade, but that actually have a long history, remain unresolved. And yet, I would suggest, such debates are simply one thread in the centuries-long development of Labé studies. In fact, the current debate about Labé's authenticity may point to some new questions and directions for the study of early modern women and gender. I offer here some reflections on that debate, its history, and its

2 The identity of that female dedicatee is hidden in the acronym "A.M.C.D.B.L.," and it remains one of the several mysteries behind the *Euvres*. The initials have led scholars to identify Labé's dedicatee as "Clémence de Bourges, Lyonnaise," a young noblewoman from Lyon, but there is no definitive proof for this identification. We know the dedicatee is supposed to be female, since the preface, in the form of a letter, opens with "Mademoiselle."

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productive possibilities for the study of early modern women. In short, this essay reflects on how Labé and the *Euvres*, even now, remain a weathervane for discussions and movements in literature, history, and culture.

Since its first appearance in 1555, Labé's book has enjoyed a blossoming afterlife, one that perked up slowly but with increasing urgency in the late twentieth century. The book has always inspired criticism, skepticism, and debate. As early as the sixteenth century at least one reader questioned whether Labé had really written the prose, or whether more famous male writers, like Maurice Scève, had done it for her. Jean Calvin referred to "La Belle Cordière" as a *plebius meretrix* and cited her as proof of the moral laxity in French cities.[3] It has not been proven definitively whether Calvin was actually talking about the historical Labé; nor has it been proven whether "the beautiful rope maker" referred at the time to a single, historical person or rather to a kind of culturally recognizable figure of local lore. Nevertheless, scholars have suggested that Calvin's comment hints at Labé's fame or notoriety. Labé (or her avatar, the beautiful rope maker) may have also structured a factional divide: if Calvin grumbled about her, a Catholic deacon, Guillaume Paradin, praised her as a paragon of female excellence. Labé seems also to have structured early modern literary debates, at least informal ones: the bibliographer Antoine du Verdier deplored her depravity, while his friend and rival bibliographer, François Grudé (or La Croix du Maine) held her up as a model of female virtue.[4]

The book disappeared from printing presses and book shops in the seventeenth century, but the idea of Labé and the *Euvres* found a receptive readership again in the eighteenth century, in three distinct veins: Labé showed up in Dominique de Colonia's *Histoire littéraire de la ville de Lyon* alongside other women who represent the city's illustriousness; the Frères Duplain printed the *Euvres* in 1762, deliberately targeting an audience interested in libertine material; and in 1790 the National Guard of Lyon depicted Labé on a battalion banner as a symbol of knowledge and emancipation.[5] The nineteenth century

3 Pierre de Sainct-Julien, *Gemelles ou pareilles* (Lyon: Charles Pesnot, 1584); cf. Mireille Huchon, *Louise Labé: Une Créature de papier* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 133. See Jean Calvin, *Gratulatio ad venerabilem presbyterum dominum Gabrielum de Saconay* (1560), cited in Labé, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. François Rigolot (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1986), 242–43; cf. Louise Labé, *Œuvres*, ed. Charles Boy (Paris: Lemerre, 1887), 2:101.

4 Guillaume Paradin, *Mémoires de l'histoire de Lyon* (Lyon: Antoine Gryphe, 1573), 355; François Grudé, Sieur de La Croix du Maine, *Bibliothèque*, vol. 1 (Paris: L'Angelier, 1584), 291; Antoine du Verdier, *Bibliothèque* (Lyon: Honorat, 1585), 822.

5 Dominique de Colonia, *Histoire littéraire de la ville de Lyon* (Lyon: François Rigollet, 1730), 543. Louise Labé, *Œuvres de Louise Charly, dite Labé, surnommée La Belle Cordière* (Lyon: Frères Duplain, 1762). On the Lyonnais National Guard, see Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Currency of*

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made Labé, along with Pernette du Guillet and Maurice Scève, part of the *école lyonnaise*, a kind of scholarly imagining of a unified southern school of poetry to rival the more famous Parisian Pléiade, made even more exceptional by the participation of bourgeois women. As might be expected, Labé's legacy gathered more steam through the twentieth century with the birth of feminist criticism. If some scholars felt compelled to extract—or construct—Labé's life story from the *Euvres* itself (using the elegies, sonnets, and laudatory poems as the basis for that biography), the appeal of Labé was obvious. Not only did she voice a blatant female sensuality, she also exemplified the value of new critical, scholarly approaches. In the work of Natalie Zemon Davis, for instance, she embodied how new work in social history uncovered the neglected experiences of bourgeois women; in Ann Rosalind Jones's work, she showed how Marxist and feminist approaches were mutually informative.[6] Not surprisingly, the story of the *Euvres* and Labé are fundamentally entwined with a story of shifting scholarly preoccupations and methodologies.

By the close of the twentieth century, Louise Labé had come to represent the success of a hard-fought feminist movement that has attempted, among other things, to shift the canon—not only to rediscover and reconsider the voices that contributed to a conversation about literature in the past, but to foreground the type of writing (and who was writing it) that *mattered* in the past, in order to help shape the present and future. Louise Labé thus became required reading for students interested in early modern French and European women, and the history of French female authorship writ large; slowly, she became required reading for those interested in early modern French writing *tout court*. Some of Labé's sonnets were set to music. Several translations, both in part and in full, were made into English throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, the most complete one by Deborah Lesko Baker and Annie Finch in 2006.[7] Just one year before, in 2005, the *Euvres* received a final seal of approval, one that seemed to confirm Labé's canonization, when it appeared as a set text for the *Agrégation des lettres*, the French state-sponsored competitive exam for teachers. Successful *concurrents* of the *Agrégation*

Eros: Women's Love Lyric in Europe, 1540–1620 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 177–78.

6 Natalie Zemon Davis, "City Women and Religious Change," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 65–95; Jones, *Currency of Eros.*

7 *Complete Poetry and Prose,* ed. and trans. Deborah Lesko Baker and Annie Finch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). The scholar and translator Richard Sieburth published a translation of Labé's sonnets and elegies in April 2014. Louise Labé, *Love Sonnets & Elegies*, intro. Karen Lessing, trans. Richard Sieburth (New York: NYRB Poets, 2014).

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become the most elite teachers in French primary and secondary schools, and many teach at universities as well. Louise Labé, it seemed, had arrived. The *Agrégation* also set the stage for more scholars to pay closer attention to the *Euvres* as they were called upon to prepare articles, papers, and other materials in preparation for the exam.

And so Louise Labé and *the Euvres* caught the eye of Mireille Huchon, who in 2006, under the imprimatur of the esteemed Swiss publishing house Droz, published *Louise Labé: Une Créature de papier*. Huchon—herself an eminent scholar at the Sorbonne known especially for her monumental study of Rabelais—picks up an old theme and argues that Labé's book was written by men. In fact, according to Huchon the *Euvres* represent a sixteenth-century hoax: the publisher Jean de Tournes and several well-known male writers of the time conspired to create the idea of a lovelorn female poet, one who would represent—and mock—the idea of female desire embodied so well in the newly rediscovered figure of Sappho, Labé's prototype. The male writers apparently involved are well known to sixteenth-century scholars and figure among the literary elite of the century: Maurice Scève, Olivier de Magny, Claude de Taillemont. Huchon's credentials are impeccable, and her research meticulous. As a material book itself, *Une Créature de papier* was also immaculately produced, and the Droz imprint offered an unquestionable endorsement of, at the very least, the quality of the scholarship. If anything could cause the equivalent of shock waves in a small but international community of scholars not normally known for scandal, Huchon's book did it. Labé's authorial authenticity—meaning, in this case, whether she did or did not write the *Euvres*—was the subject of conference panels, roundtables, as well as editorials in mainstream French publications in the months after it was published. The controversy also had a presence in online discussion groups and generated chatter on blogs. SIEFAR (The *Société internationale pour l'étude des femmes de l'Ancien Régime*) collected scholarly essays and reviews treating the topic on their website under the link "Débats"; the collection is still maintained.[8] The authenticity question has become an important feature in Labé studies. To consider both the scholarly and non-scholarly: The Oxford Bibliography's article on Labé, aimed at scholars new to the subject and at non-French readers, includes a section entitled "The 'Créature de Papier' Controversy." French-language Wikipedia's relatively short entry on Labé includes a section called

8 Société internationale pour l'étude des femmes de l'Ancien Régime. "Louise attaquée! Louise Labé est-elle une créature de papier …?" http://www.siefar.org/debats/louise-labe.html?lang=fr&li=art25.

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"imposture poétique?" An English-language Wikipedia's longer entry offers a comparable section entitled "The Huchon Hypothesis."[9]

If the Labé controversy sounds strikingly like the one that pops up around Shakespeare now and again, it is certainly different in degree. Unlike Shakespeare's vast corpus, which has had mass popular appeal and has been in continuous print since its first productions in the seventeenth century, Labé's *Euvres* was her only work, and its appeal has been much more limited. Some scholars have welcomed Labé's defrocking. In a May 2006 response to Huchon's book published in *Le Monde des livres*, Marc Fumaroli smugly thanked Huchon for unmasking Labé: "Merci, Madame."[10] Other scholars have been unsettled and circumspect: if Louise Labé is not who we think she is, should we still think of her as a female writer? How do we—can we—continue to teach her as one of the most important women writers in the French and European tradition? Since Labé did not write as much as Shakespeare and does not command as large a reading audience, the heat this controversy has generated raises still other questions: if Labé's appeal has been relatively limited, why then, are scholars and certain members of the reading public so ready to question and dismiss the female provenance of the *Euvres*? And why are others so invested in holding on to Labé as a woman writer? The answer to these last questions might have to do as much with what Labé has come to represent as with the details of her specific case. Her "authenticity" as a writer has become bound up with a larger story of female textual production. That Labé wrote and published is tied to a scholarly narrative of what women of a certain class *could* do in Lyon in the mid-sixteenth century. Huchon's unseating of Labé casts doubt on the artistic experience and genius of the individual woman, but it also chips away at the larger narrative of female artistic production in sixteenth-century France that Labé has come to exemplify. If we accept Huchon's thesis, then perhaps women had less of a Renaissance after all.

It is now more than ten years since Huchon's book launched the recent spate of questioning about Labé, and it seems that scholarship has not entirely moved past the controversy. This may be because we don't really want to. As Mary McKinley has suggested, the Labé question may be one of the most exciting things to have happened to the world of sixteenth-century studies in a

9 Kirk Read, "Louise Labé," in *Oxford Bibliographies* http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com. On Wikipedia (English): http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louise_Labé. On Wikipedia (French): http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louise_Labé.

10 Marc Fumaroli, "Louise Labé, une géniale imposture," in *Le Monde des livres* (May 11, 2006). See http://www.siefar.org/debats/louise-labe.html?lang=fr&li=art25.

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while.[11] Moreover, Huchon's hypothesis has also had the effect of becoming a central question, one that is proving difficult to answer. The question is not just one of authenticity but one of value. Huchon implies that if a woman named Louise Labé did not write the *Euvres*, then the book does not possess the value we had previously ascribed to it. Why read, teach, and study it, then? One might wonder whether the scholarly community is now asking itself this question, even if many scholars oppose Huchon's theory. Notably, since the publication of Huchon's book, not a single major monograph on Labé has appeared.[12] The Labé vogue seems to have been clustered during a few years in the late 1990s and early 2000s. To be sure, the gradual disappearance of Labé from scholarly conversations may in part be due to other factors. It may be that the age of the "woman writer" has passed to some degree, in part due to a scholarly retreat from the monumental figure of the author in favor of different ways of understanding textual production and circulation, or other categories of analysis. Huchon's work—and her larger interest in the collaborations generated in the space of the printer's workshop—may represent an example of this retreat rather than the cause. Then again, it may be that the dust around *Une Créature de papier* simply has not yet settled, and that, with no additional evidence and no alternative approach readily forthcoming, scholars are not yet ready to write more books devoted to Labé and the *Euvres*.

But it is worth asking what this controversy is really about. Is it about the "truth" behind a single woman writer? Or is it about the study of women writers, and the study of early modern gender and gender difference? If the debate *has* been principally about the historical traces behind the production of this particular female-authored book, should we also be asking what the Labé controversy says about modern scholarly relationships to the archive, and about how scholars pursue their methodologies? Should the controversy also be about the values that a twenty-first-century scholarly culture ascribes to that archive, to those questions, and to those methodologies?

Two recent publications offer some possibilities for rethinking both the kind of archival evidence that a work like the *Euvres* offers and how we as scholars go about thinking through that evidence. Lyndan Warner's *Ideas of Man and*

11 Mary B. McKinley, "Louise Labé, 'invention lyonnaise' et polémique internationale," *Revue Critique* 737 (2008), 748–54.

12 Earlier well-known monographs include Deborah Lesko Baker, *The Subject of Desire: Petrarchan Poetics and the Female Voice in Louise Labé* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1996); Daniel Martin, *Signe(s) d'amante. L'Agencement des* ***Euvres*** *de Louïze Labé Lionnoize* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999); François Rigolot, *Louise Labé Lyonnaise ou la Renaissance au féminin* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997).

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Woman in Renaissance France points to one way that the study of women writers (including Labé) might proceed, even as it registers some of the ways in which Huchon's work has created something of an irreconcilable impasse.[13] Warner does not focus on any one woman writer, indeed not exclusively on the figure of the woman writer at all. Rather, she reinscribes women writers, alongside other women and men in a variety of social roles, into a widespread cultural debate about "the dignity of man": the quest, by both individuals and families, to attain *dignitas* in the face of what early moderns saw as the human penchant for vice. The debate on the misery and dignity of man, Warner argues, was not simply a literary quarrel, but rather a significant preoccupation of the bourgeoisie. It had a meaningful place in published legal discourse, and structured a notable part of the early modern book trade. Warner argues that it is only within the context of this larger cultural debate about *dignitas* that we can comprehend the implications of the *Querelle des femmes*. Reminding readers that feminist scholars have regularly called for understanding the *Querelle* as an "all-encompassing gender debate" that dealt as much with the value of men as of women, Warner points out that earlier scholarly emphasis on misogyny and its relation to women's writing might be misplaced:

> If we ignore early modern lamentations of the weaknesses of man, we might make the mistake of misinterpreting *Querelle des femmes* writing about the weaknesses of woman as pure misogyny. A variation on this theme occurs when the defenses of woman by women writers come to be identified as 'sincere' while male defenses of woman 'lack credibility' or must be 'rhetorical.' (7)

Louise Labé (whom Warner looks at, refreshingly, for her less-studied prose "Débat de folie et d'amour," especially its legal resonances and its dignity-of-man commonplaces) is certainly one of these early modern women writers who have been prized for the sincerity of her proto-feminism (particularly in the opening epistle to her female dedicatee) and the sincerity of her female desire (in both her elegies and sonnet collection).

Given Warner's approach, it is surprising that she does not mention Huchon's hypothesis (published 5 years before Warner's book) or the controversy surrounding Labé at all, particularly since Huchon's theory could have played so well into the argument of *Ideas of Man and Woman*. Instead, Warner introduces Labé with a familiar biography that rehashes "facts" drawn in part from

13 Lyndan Warner, *The Idea of Man and Woman in Renaissance France: Print, Rhetoric and Law* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

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the scant evidence in the historical record, in part from scholarly speculation based on who printed the *Euvres* and on the texts contained within the book:

> Louise Labé's father was a wealthy rope maker, active on the Lyon city council, who gradually lived from his investments rather than his trade. Labé was educated in Latin and Italian and frequented the circles of the humanist writers Maurice Scève and Pontus de Tyard and their mutual friend the merchant printer Jean de Tournes. She married a rope maker of her father's status. The poet Jean-Antoine de Baïf and the lawyer Guillaume Aubert … honoured Labé with odes for her *Works*. (130)

Since Warner's interest in Labé is for the rhetoric of the "Débat" rather than for circumstances surrounding the "historical" Labé, this biographical tag is curious, even unnecessary, especially since much of this biography—such as the extent of her education and the literary circles in which she traveled—cannot be proven (as Huchon rightly points out). Huchon's theory that the expression of female desire in the *Euvres* was meant to be satirical and that the book was conceptualized within the context of the *Querelle des femmes* and the related *Querelle des amis* (a contemporary debate about women and love), would seem to align with Warner's argument that Labé is part of a larger debate about the dignity of man, and woman's role in it. Does it matter, for Warner's argument, if Labé's work was produced by a historical woman or part of an all-male or mixed-sex collaboration? This is a question that Warner does not address. There are plenty of reasons for Warner to avoid the question of Labé's authorial authenticity as a distraction or perhaps in an effort to move beyond the question. Warner's argument may imply that Labé was indeed an author but that the details of the Huchon theory are, perhaps, moot. And yet, to those familiar with the Labé controversy, Warner's refusal to acknowledge Huchon's thesis seems at best an overly subtle commentary on the authorship question or, at worst, strikingly ignorant about a critical, current conversation in Labé studies.

Warner's study suggests the extent to which Labé is a *tabula rasa*. The "life" of Labé that readers have continued to imagine and develop through her texts, through the laudatory poems and from the scarce historical documentation attesting to her existence, is just as captivating as Labé's prose and poetry. But it is the thinness of historical proof that allows for the coexistence of Huchon's hoax hypothesis and the story of the rope maker's daughter like the one Warner uses. In this way, Labé is like so many other early modern women, many of whom have left us with far fewer traces—perhaps a name here, a poem there. Labé has been so attractive to scholars because she left behind an entire printed book; her book is so vexing, however, because it does not give us

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a definitive portrait of the woman and the conditions that produced the text and publication.

And yet, perhaps this lack of knowledge may be what is most compelling about the study of early modern women. Working on Labé's contemporary, Marguerite, Queen of Navarre (who was also, incidentally, published by Jean de Tournes), Gary Ferguson and Mary McKinley show us what is possible when scholars run up against things we do not know about women writers. Their *Companion to Marguerite de Navarre* focuses on a woman for whom the historical record bears far more traces than for Labé, both because Marguerite was royal and figured centrally in the political and religious networks of her time, and because she was a prolific writer.[14] In contrast to Labé's one book, Marguerite was published in at least eight single-author imprints during her lifetime (both signed and unsigned); her poetry also appeared in numerous collections, and the work we now know as the *Heptaméron* was published posthumously in at least eight editions between 1558 and 1561.[15] And yet, despite a wealth of extant historical evidence about this queen, and a growing body of scholarship on Marguerite since the late nineteenth century, there is still much that is unknown about her. As Ferguson and McKinley's volume underscores, scholars are still unsure how to assess Marguerite's religious inclinations, a question that is critical to understanding not only the historical Marguerite, but also her spiritual poems and writings that question the parameters of the Church's institutional authority. Was Marguerite—along with other early sixteenth-century evangelicals—a closet Protestant, who embraced the radical proposal of a separate Church but could not fully reveal her ideas because of political ties, or out of fear of death or exile? Or, in spite of her views regarding reform from within the Church, did she remain fundamentally Catholic, always obedient to the authority of the pope and to ecclesiastical structure?

Rather than come down on one side or the other, Ferguson and McKinley present both sides of the argument: their volume opens with essays by two noted Marguerite historians, Jonathan Reid and Jean-Marie Le Gall, each of whom takes opposing views: Reid advocates a more definitively Protestant Marguerite, and Le Gall a more moderately Catholic identification. Ferguson and McKinley's editorial choice is as savvy as it is revelatory: it suggests how

14 *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, eds. Gary Ferguson and Mary B. McKinley, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

15 Annie Charon-Parent and William Kemp, "L'Histoire des premières éditions des 'Nouvelles' de Marguerite de Navarre: Éditions imprimées et exemplaires significatifs, 1558–1561," in Marguerite de Navarre, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Nicole Cazauran (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2013), 1:CLIX–CLXVI.

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much historians of early modern culture and literature still don't know, and that textual evidence remains open to interpretation and subject to cultural and historical contingencies. Ferguson and McKinley's editorial staging of the debate has the additional benefit of putting the methodological and interpretive approaches to a given question front and center: *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, in other words, makes visible not only what we think we know about Marguerite but also the various and sometimes divergent ways scholars go about knowing Marguerite. In the gap between methodological approaches, there opens up the possibility of still other critical middle grounds for the researcher, still other ways to assess the evidence. One closes Ferguson and McKinley's volume with the distinct sense that the book is hardly closed on Marguerite.

And perhaps this is the greatest message to draw from Huchon's work—that it is possible to write a completely different narrative around Labé and the *Euvres*, as it is indeed possible to do with many of the texts we study. There is no doubt that taking certain components of Huchon's hypothesis seriously could entail a certain loss for feminist scholarship and even an injustice to the historical Louise Labé. I was recently reminded of the ways in which the Labé controversy resembles the mystery and calumny surrounding both the sixteenth-century preacher Marie Dentière (1495–1561) and the erudite Marie de Gournay (1564–1645), editor of Montaigne's *Essais*. As in the case of Labé, little is known about the historical Dentière. Most of what we know about her preaching activities comes from hostile reports published by both fellow Protestants like Jean Calvin (who did not support women preaching) and Catholics such as the abbess Jeanne de Jussie, who abhorred Dentière as a lapsed nun.[16] Until the late twentieth century, Dentière's reputation fared little better. As Mary McKinley points out, Dentière's late-nineteenth-century editor, Aimé-Louis Herminjard, treats Dentière in ways "strikingly similar to that of the Geneva pastors who suppressed her work, and his comments about her echo misogynistic attitudes common in sixteenth-century Europe … [recalling] the church leaders, her adversaries, who refused women access to the ministry" ("Introduction," 34–35).[17] According to Herminjard, Dentière was

16 See Jean Calvin, *Letters of John Calvin*, ed. Jules Bonnet, vol. 2 (1858; repr. New York: Lenox Hill, 1972), 70–71; Jeanne de Jussie, *Petite Chronique*, ed. Helmut Feld (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 238–39; cf. Mary B. McKinley, introduction to *Epistle to Marguerite de Navarre and Preface to a Sermon by John Calvin*, by Marie Dentière, ed. and trans. Mary B. McKinley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 8–9, 19.

17 McKinley's edition represents the most important modern rethinking of Dentière's contributions as a Reformed author and preacher.

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to blame for her husband's moral shortcomings. But his critique is based less on historical proof, McKinley notes, than on a tradition established well before Dentière's time that makes women responsible for the failings of men. Herminjard's scholarship, in other words, is entangled with a well-worn narrative about women's character.

Questions about Labé's role in the production of her text echo even more saliently the controversy surrounding Marie de Gournay. For centuries, Gournay's editions of the *Essais* were authoritative. Upon the publication of the municipal edition of the *Essais* (1906–33), based on the famous Bordeaux Copy marked up in Montaigne's hand, however, scholars began to accuse Gournay of editorial impropriety and to embrace a patronizing view of her as a besotted fan of Montaigne.[18] These scholarly views breezily passed over evidence of Gournay's careful editing, her dedication, and her sheer perseverance and astounding work ethic in the production of the *Essais*; dismissed outright any evidence of Montaigne's own endorsement of Gournay; and rejected any value that her editorial, philosophical, or moralist work could entail. Writing the woman Louise Labé out of the production of the *Euvres* in favor of male authorship follows a similar path, discounting on some level the probability that such a woman was equal to the task of composing the texts and publishing the book. It does indeed seem a serious blow to the productive gains of feminist and woman-centered scholarship to see that alternative narrative take such a familiar form—the denial and negation of a woman writer.

But what we don't know about Labé could also be illuminating to feminist and woman-centered scholarship and to gender studies. What if we allowed for the productive possibilities that Huchon's work opens up? What if we consider Huchon's theory in a different light, not entirely as an abnegation of a woman writer, but as a proposal for a new narrative of production, a different model of collaboration and author function than what we had originally posited for Labé's *Euvres*? Should we not take up the challenge to engage with those questions, even if some of them might make us uncomfortable? Should we not look more closely at the author and the book within both larger cultural phenomena and textual practices? Should we not look more closely at the material object and the text itself to reassess details that we thought we had understood but perhaps need revisiting?[19] This kind of revisiting or retelling

18 Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne*, ed. Fortunat Strowski, François Gébelin, and Pierre Villey, 5 vols. (Bordeaux: Pech, 1906–33).

19 Emmanuel Buron shows the value of such revisiting in his study of the laudatory poems dedicated to Labé in the *Euvres*. Buron shows how many of these poems were borrowed from other works, thereby undermining the narrative—seemingly produced by the

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of the historical narratives of cultural production is, of course, a basic feature of scholarship in history, literature, and culture. It bears repeating if only to articulate what the Labé controversy enables if we allow the conversation to go forward beyond the black and white of authorial identification to the nuances embedded in the figuration of Labé's authorship and in the delineations of the textual practice that the *Euvres* represents. In a recent essay, for example, Marc Schachter shows that discussions of Sappho's sapphism were available to readers of Latin in popular commentaries of Juvenal and Martial by the end of the fifteenth century—the Renaissance was aware, in other words, of Sappho's important role in ancient views of sex between women.[20] This is quite a different view from previous scholarship that maintained that the Sappho who informs Labé's work—and who is invoked both explicitly and implicitly in the *Euvres*—was a Sappho known in the sixteenth century only through Ovid and Catullus, and for whom the object of desire was a man.[21] If Sappho's same-sex desire was in circulation among readers of Latin by the time of Labé's *Euvres*—and scholarly Latin readers may very well have been among the readers of the *Euvres* given the presence of Latin and Greek in the laudatory poems—should that knowledge influence and alter our reading of all the Sapphic resonances in the *Euvres*, all the expressions of community among women past, present, and future, that the female poet-narrator deploys? Might the story of Sappho that unfolds in the *Euvres* be a very different story than the one we had imagined? If Huchon has proposed that the *Euvres* were written as a hoax, could

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Euvres itself—that Labé was somehow at the center of a poetic circle in Lyon. Notably, Buron's study, grounded in careful examination of the material artifact, was published just prior to the publication of Huchon's *Une Créature de papier*. See his "Réemploi dans les *Escriz de divers Poètes à la louenge de Louize Labé Lionnoize*," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 67 (2005), 575–96.

20 Marc Schachter, "Lesbian Philology in Early Print Commentaries on Juvenal and Martial," in *Ancient Rome and the Construction of Modern Homosexual Identities*, ed. Jennifer Ingleheart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 39–55.

21 In *Fictions of Sappho: 1546–1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), Joan DeJean suggests that sixteenth-century poets, working from Ovidian and Catullian models, assumed Sappho's beloved to be male. Schachter's work implies rather that early modern poets deliberately wrote Sappho into a tradition of male-female love, against preexistent textual evidence. Schachter's work actually contributes to previous work by Gary Ferguson and Guy Poirier, both of whom point out that early modern writers (such as Brantôme) were clearly aware of Sappho's same-sex history. See Ferguson, *Queer (Re)Readings in the French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender, Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), especially his discussion of Brantôme in chapter 5 and Guy Poirier, *L'Homosexualité dans l'imaginaire de la Renaissance* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996), particularly 122–25.

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this supposed hoax also represent an exploration of multiple types of female desire, including same-sex desire?

Such questions redirect the study of same-sex desire in the early modern period and expand the understanding of the larger implications of a work like the *Euvres de Louize Labé Lionnoize*. But in order to pursue them, we must move past a set of criteria and methodological approaches that assigns value to a female-authored work only if there appears to be (principally) an identifiable, historical woman behind the writing of that text—only, that is, if there appears to be a female body, with all the presumed experiences of a female body of that time, class, and place, behind the text. Surely there are ways to think through the function of female authorship beyond the historical identity of the writer?[22] Perhaps ironically, even the most strident defenders of Labé as the veritable poet behind the *Euvres*, who have argued eloquently and persuasively that Huchon's evidence is inconclusive (many of whom may be read at the site dedicated to the Labé debate maintained by SIEFAR), largely reinscribe Labé into a value system predicated on the divide between authenticity and inauthenticity. For these defenders, the question is whether Huchon's evidence successfully undermines an authentic Labé-as-writer rather than whether the *Euvres* can maintain its value to modern readers and scholars, even if the material book and author figure might be read differently in light of Huchon's theory. As both object and text, the *Euvres* open up so many intriguing lines of inquiry: as, among other things, an early modern example of prose and poetry; a work that grapples with sexuality, gender, and gender difference; a text about individual memory and collective, social memory; an artifact that cultivates a relation between experience and authorship, be it sincerely or satirically; a material object that reveals and enables collaborative processes that generated texts during the period; or, as Warner has argued, a rhetorical foray into the idea of "woman." We should explore these possibilities, regardless of whether we can affirm beyond a doubt the presence of a historical woman behind the text.

No doubt, in some form or fashion, Louise Labé and the *Euvres* are here to stay. The material artifact—a beautiful little book tucked away in various repositories, or available through several digital archives—isn't going anywhere. The prose and poetry are stunning. Certainly the text and its female author

22 In my own work, I have been interested in thinking through the female author figure (including Labé) as a product of print culture, separate from the identity of the historical female writer. Work by other scholars, such as Schachter and Warner cited above, are also implicitly pointing to ways in which we might rethink the role that a female author figure performs in larger cultural and intellectual contexts.

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figure can stand up to greater scrutiny. But the ways in which the text, the material object, and the author figure have been mediated and Labé's authority constructed—both at the moment of their original production and in their reception throughout the centuries—also deserve further investigation.[23] What "female authorship" might mean for Labé and the *Euvres*, and what this case might suggest about notions of authorship in the sixteenth century, may have to be redefined and recontextualized, but the *Euvres* offer us ample material to do that rethinking.

To be sure, the legend of Labé as the enlightened wife and daughter of rope makers may be too appealing to readers and publishers to disappear entirely in spite of current scholarly questions about Labé's identity. In 2014 Richard Sieburth published a new translation of Labé's elegies and sonnets in part as a response to Rilke's 1916 translation of Labé's verses. In the press around Sieburth's translation, at least one promotional blurb hung its hat on a familiar biographical legend:

> Louise Labé was born between 1516 and 1522 in Lyon, France. Her father was a rope maker and her mother died when she was an infant. It is thought that Labé may have been sent to the sisters of the convent of La Déserte for her primary and secondary schooling, where she would have learned the arts of needlecraft and music in addition to Latin and Italian. Legend has it that she excelled on horseback and jousted in tournaments dressed as a man. In her twenties, Labé married a rope maker twenty years her elder. In her lifetime she gained a reputation as a scholar and, to her enemies, as a *femme sçavante*, or courtesan. Her complete writings, *Euvres de Louïze Labé Lionnoize*, were published in 1555 and included a preface dedicated to Clémence de Bourges, three elegies, twenty-four sonnets, a prose work titled "The Debate Between Folly and Love," and twenty-four homages to her addressed by various Lyonnese men of letters. After her death on February 15, 1566, her legend continued to grow.

23 Such additional work could put Labé studies in productive, interdisciplinary dialogue with ongoing work in other linguistic traditions on the mediation of female author figures and on new definitions of "women's writing." See, for instance, Jennifer Summit's work on Margery Kempe and Anne Askew in *Lost Property: The Woman Writer and English Literary History, 1380–1589* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); *The History of British Women's Writing, 1500–1610*, eds. Caroline Bicks and Jennifer Summit (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010); and Sarah C. E. Ross, Patricia Pender, and Rosalind Smith, *Early Modern Women and the Apparatus of Authorship*, Special issue of *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29, 2 (2012).

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> Rilke famously published his German versions of Labé's sonnets in 1917, and in his anthology of sixteenth-century verse, Léopold Senghor pronounced her "the greatest poetess ever born in France." To this day the "Ami" of her love poems remains a mystery.[24]

It may be that this story of Louise Labé—the mystery of Labé—is just too appealing for readers, translators, and publishers to let go. No doubt, it will live on, at least to some degree. Alternative narratives, however, offer their own intriguing appeal. It may be that to draw the *Euvres* further into ongoing conversations about sixteenth-century textual practices, authority, and gender, and to introduce the *Euvres* to other scholarly conversations about early modern culture, the Labé that we knew must fade away. But that Labé is only one iteration among many, and it does not have to be the final one. Sieburth has described "La Belle Cordière" as "an artisan of twining."[25] How we follow those threads is entirely up to us.

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24 "*Love Sonnets and Elegies*, Louise Labé, edited and translated from the French by Richard Sieburth, preface by Karin Lessing," *New York Review of Books*. Accessed August 15, 2015. http://www.nybooks.com/books/imprints/nyrb-poets/love-sonnets-and-elegies/.

25 "Louise Labé: A Conversation with Translator Richard Sieburth and Editor Jeffrey Yang," by Jeffrey Yang, Poetry Society of America, accessed August 15, 2015, https://www.poetrysociety.org/psa/poetry/crossroads/tributes/louise_lab_a_conversation_with_t/.

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CHAPTER 9

Clément Marot and the Frames of Cultural Memory

Nicolas Russell

Poetry has traditionally offered the primary mode of writing in which we find a discourse on "cultural memory," a discourse which points to poetry itself as the primary medium that preserves cultural memory. Archaic Greek texts described the creation of and preservation of a sacred, divinely inspired memory as intrinsic to poetry.[1] The memory embodied in poetry takes on a sacred or divine character in archaic Greece, in part, by the fact that it is not subject to the temporality of ordinary human memory, which is limited by both forgetting and human mortality. The mythological explanation of poetic memory's sacredness and its "immortality" rests on the claim that the poet is divinely inspired by the Muses, who are themselves the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory. Even when the Muses' divine inspiration is used only as metaphor, as a poetic way of referring to the special qualities of a poet's language, it shapes the way one thinks about how the memory embodied in poetry is produced. It attributes solely to the poet the power to create the supposedly eternal memory embodied in poetry. Drawing on the theory of divinely inspired verse, the poet claims special powers to immortalize both himself and those about whom he writes through the long-lasting memory embodied in his works. The claim both heightens the poet's prestige and attracts potential patrons.

Drawing on Greek and Roman models, the European Renaissance gave new life to the traditional Greek discourse on poetic memory. In sixteenth-century French poetry, Ronsard and the Pléiade immediately come to mind, but earlier in the century, Clément Marot played a central role in reintroducing the claim that poetry held a privileged place in creating eternal memories.[2] Yet, while Clément Marot did contribute to reintroducing the classical discourse

1 See Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs. Études de psychologie historique* (Paris: La Découverte, 1996), 109–18; Marcel Détienne, *Les Maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque* (Paris: La Découverte, 1990), 15–27; Michèle Simondon, *La Mémoire et l'oubli dans la pensée grecque jusqu'à la fin du V^e siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982), 122–27.

2 See Françoise Joukovsky, *La Gloire dans la poésie française et néolatine du XVI^e siècle. Des Rhétoriqueurs à Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 162–74; Guillaume Berthon, *L'Intention du poète. Clément Marot comme 'autheur'* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014), 352–66.

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on the mythological origins of poetic memory, he also offers a more pragmatic view (both through his words and actions) of how such memory was created and sustained in the shifting cultural landscape of Renaissance France. Many of the ways Marot engages with these concerns take on their full significance when seen through the lens of Jan Assmann's theory of "cultural memory."[3]

The dynamics of cultural memory, as explained by Assmann, diverge in significant ways from the archaic Greek account of poetic memory, yet cultural memory is still much closer to the Greek concept than it is to the modern concept of "collective memory," theorized by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs.[4] Unlike collective memory, as defined by Halbwachs, cultural memory is not embodied in the individual members of a group and does not naturally develop as a result of everyday interactions between members of a group as a whole.[5] Rather, cultural memory is preserved primarily in cultural artifacts—such as rituals, monuments, and canonical texts—and it requires institutional frameworks and specialists to develop and maintain it. The cultural practices that create cultural memory aim to give it a special elevated status, removed from the flux of everyday life—a status that allows it to become a foundational model for a society. To play the role of a foundational model, cultural memory must be stable, unchanging, even eternal, or at least it must be perceived as such. Whether or not it is actually eternal, cultural memory's lifespan can be measured in centuries rather than decades.

Diverging from the classical mythological account of poetic memory both through his words and his actions, Marot suggests that the creation and preservation of cultural memory in the form of poetic works depends not solely on the powers of the poet but on a range of what Assmann has called "memory specialists," who operate within institutional frameworks. Poets are among these memory specialists, but they generally work in tandem with others in creating and preserving cultural memory. In addition to memory specialists and institutional frameworks, the closely related term of "canon" in Assmann's

3 See Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

4 While the work of Vernant and Détienne cited above predates Assmann's work on cultural memory, their anthropological analyses of archaic Greek texts demonstrate that, if read allegorically, archaic Greek accounts of how poetry preserves memory would coincide even more closely with Assmann's theory of cultural memory, given the actual poetic practices of archaic Greek poets. The same argument could not be made for later classical models, such as the poems of Horace, which were central in transmitting the archaic Greek concept of poetic memory to the Renaissance.

5 On the relationship between Maurice Halbwachs's conception of collective memory and the term "cultural memory," see Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 21–50.

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theory can also illuminate Marot's stance on the relationship between poetry and memory.

Assmann uses the term "canon" to refer to "a principle that elevates a culture's connective structure to a level at which it becomes impervious to time and change" (4). Elevating a given text to a level at which it becomes "impervious to time and change" is also the goal of poetic immortalization. We typically think of the most celebrated poets as being part of what we call the canon, but Assmann uses the word "canon" in a broader sense. He is both forging a theoretical concept that will be a part of his theory of cultural memory and also drawing on the range of meanings that the term "canon" acquired through its history as it was used metaphorically and adapted to new contexts (78–103). The term originally referred to a rod used as a tool in architecture to measure and align stones. It was later used to refer to individuals who could serve as models of correct behavior (which gave us the idea of canonical authors). "Canon" also acquired the related sense of rule or norm (a meaning incorporated into the term "canon law," for example), and it came to mean a table or a list (for example, a list of authors, such as the literary canon, or a list of authoritative texts, as in the biblical canon). The various meanings are interrelated, since a canonical author can be either a model author or one of the authors in the list that constitutes the literary canon. Similarly, a model of correct behavior embodies a norm, but the norm can only be articulated through a rule. Canons are models, rules, or lists, but not all models, rules, and lists are canons. As mentioned above, canons are perceived as unchanging and impervious to time, which is not the case for all models, rules, and lists. Canons concern cultural materials that acquire a special status. It is this special status that poetry claims to have in asserting its power to immortalize and live on in the memory of posterity.

As we look at Marot's career as a poet, at his work as an editor of other poets, and at his interactions with intellectuals and printers, Assmann's theory of cultural memory can serve as a powerful lens to understand how he navigates the dynamics of memory and poetry. We see this in the initial experiences that would make Marot into a poet. Following in his father's footsteps, Marot was essentially a court poet. He spent time at court as a child with his father, and, in 1514, at the age of eighteen, he was placed as a page in the service of Nicolas de Neufville, François I[er]'s secretary of finance. But Marot had greater ambitions. Ascending through the court, he would go on to be *valet de chambre* to Marguerite de Navarre, and ultimately to replace his own father as *valet de chambre* to François I[er]. Marot would eventually become the most celebrated poet of his generation, and given his statements about the court's role in cultural life, it is safe to assume that he thought it had played a role in his success.

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Marot clearly saw the court as central in shaping cultural memory, as we learn in the preface to his 1533 edition of François Villon's poetic works. Marot's preface offers an extended consideration of whether Villon's works will remain in the memory of posterity or whether they will slowly fade away. Marot had great esteem for Villon, but in one passage he claims that Villon's poetry would have been better still and would have had a better chance of living on in the memory of posterity if Villon had spent time at court:

> Ne fait doubte qu'il n'eust emporte le chapeau de laurier devant tous les poetes de son temps, s'il eust este nourry en la court des Roys, & des Princes, la ou les jugemens se amendent, & les langaiges se pollissent.[6]
>
> [There is no doubt that he would have come away with the crown of laurels ahead of all of the poets of his age, if he had been raised at the court of kings and princes, where judgments are amended and language is polished.]

In claiming that time at court polished one's language and improved one's judgment, and that these were keys to producing works of lasting value, Marot suggests that the court was an instrumental institution in the creation of cultural memory and of a literary canon. Through its artists and intellectuals, the court provided a set of models, both linguistic and conceptual, which aspiring authors needed to emulate if they hoped to produce something deemed worthy of cultural memory.

Of course, the court of François 1er was particularly engaged in renewing France's cultural frameworks. François supported new developments in the arts, encouraged the work of humanists, and championed efforts to transform French into a language of culture and learning. In speaking of how the court shapes one's language and judgment, Marot was speaking from personal experience. He recounts his education at court in his "Enfer" and mentions it in passing in other poems.[7] At the various courts where Marot spent time, he would have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by humanists such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Guillaume Budé, and Geoffroy Tory, and by accomplished poets, such as Jean Lemaire de Belges, and of course his father, Jean Marot. If Marot had become the most celebrated poet of his generation,

6 Clément Marot, ed., *Les Œuvres de François Villon de Paris* (Paris: Galiot du Pre, 1533), sig. A V v.

7 Pauline Smith, "Marot and the French Language," in *Literature and the Arts in the Reign of Francis I*, ed. Pauline Smith and I. D. McFarlane (Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1985), 186.

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he suggests that it was in part through the models and rules to which he was exposed at court.

Marot's comments on Villon's fate in the memory of posterity also allude to another practical dimension of the cultural renewal at the court of François Ier. While the quality of Villon's poetry explains why he was still read in Marot's time, Marot claims that Villon's verse will continue to endure in the future for another reason, which is that he chose to write in French:

> … le temps, qui tout efface, jusques icy ne l'a sceu effacer. Et moins encor l'effacera ores et d'icy en avant que les bonnes escriptures françoises sont et seront myeulx congneues et recueillies que jamais.
>
> *ŒUVRES DE VILLON*, SIG. A V R

> [… time, which erases everything, has not yet been able to erase him. And it will erase him even less from now on, since good French letters are and will be better known and better received than ever.]

Marot suggests that texts in French would have a greater hold on the memory of posterity because of the rise of French letters. The efforts of cultural renewal in the court of François Ier were devoted, in part, to developing French as a literary and intellectual language through translations of classical texts into French, other publications in French, and linguistic reform.[8] Marot participated in these efforts through his translations of Virgil, Ovid, and Erasmus, among others, and by editing Villon's poetry at the request, Marot suggests (sig. A ii r), of François Ier.[9] François Ier is often referred to as a champion of initiatives to develop the French language, and Geoffroy Tory, his court printer starting in

8 See Claude Longeon, *Premiers Combats pour la langue française* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1989), and Geneviève Clerico, "Le français au XVIe siècle," in *Nouvelle Histoire de la langue française,* ed. Jacques Chauran (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1999), 152–59.

9 While some scholars have claimed that Marot also edited the 1526 edition of the *Roman de la Rose* for bookseller and publisher Galliot du Pré, others have offered compelling arguments against such an attribution; for a summary of the debate over Marot's involvement in the edition, see David Hult, "La Fortune du *Roman de la Rose* à l'époque de Clément Marot," in *Clément Marot. "Prince des poètes françois," 1496–1996. Actes du colloque international de Cahors-en-Quercy, 21–25 mai, 1996*, eds. Gérard Defaux and Michel Simonin (Paris: Champion, 1997), 143–56; for additional arguments against such an attribution, see Guillaume Berthon's forthcoming critical bibliography of Marot's works. Whatever the case may be, Galliot du Pré's publication of the *Roman de la Rose* and of numerous other literary, historical, and philosophical texts in French during the 1520s and 1530s certainly did contribute to the development of French as a literary language.

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1531, was a key figure in this movement. In the prologue of his *Champfleury*, Tory calls for a systemization of the French language in order to stabilize it.

> O Devotz Amateurs de bonnes Lettres! Pleust a Dieu que quelque Noble cueur semployast a mettre & ordonner par Reigle nostre Langage Francois! Ce seroit moyen que maints Milliers dhommes se everturoient a souvent user de belles & bonnes parolles! Sil ny est mys & ordonne, on trouvera que de Cinquante Ans en Cinquante La langue Francoise, pour la plus grande part, sera changee & pervertie. Le Langage dauiourdhuy est change en mille facons du Langage qui estoit il ya Cinquante Ans ou environ.[10]
>
> [O devout friends of good letters! Would to God that some noble heart turned his attentions to setting down and organizing our French language according to rules! This would provide the means for many thousands of men to strive to use beautiful and good words! If it is not set down and organized, we will find that every fifty years the French language will for the most part be transformed and corrupted. The language today has changed in a thousand ways compared to about fifty years ago.]

The rules Tory speaks of have two purposes: to improve the language, which would allow thousands of men to write excellent texts, and to maintain the language in this ameliorated form. He suggests that without a system of rules, the French language would deteriorate over a period of several decades. Marot also contributed to developing French as a literary language by acting as an arbiter of usage, as in his famous rule for past participle agreement (Smith, 186). Thus it is clear that when Marot claims that Villon's choice of French would ensure the longevity of his verse, Marot saw his own efforts, and those of others, to develop and standardize the French language as playing a fundamental role in the creation and preservation of cultural memory in France. A unified system of linguistic rules would provide a stable medium in which to develop a literary canon that could then serve as a model for further production of cultural memory.

In the preface to his edition of Villon's works, Marot also mentions the rules governing poetry, saying that in as much as Villon did not scrupulously follow the rules of French poetry he could not serve as a model for young poets (*Œuvres de Villon*, sig. A iv r–v). Here again, it is the work of specialists, whether with regard to language or the rules of poetry, that provides a stable framework

10 Geoffroy Tory, *Champfleury* (Paris: Geoffroy Tory, 1529), sig. A viii r.

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within which a long-lasting cultural memory can be created. Marot's and Tory's concern with rules also fits into Assmann's views about how canons function. The texts of cultural memory embody rules, whether explicit or implicit, and serve as models for those rules.

While the court provided a framework of models and rules that made the production of cultural memory possible, it was also necessary for specialists to maintain cultural memory once it was created. Through the editing and publishing of texts, the work of humanists and printers contributed to its preservation. We see the importance of editors and printers both in Marot's efforts to have his own works printed and in his work as an editor of other authors. In his edition of Villon's works, Marot gives himself partial credit for saving Villon's poems for posterity. Marot claims that previous editions of Villon had badly damaged the text:

> Tant y ay trouve de broillerie en l'ordre des coupletz et des vers, en mesure, en langaige, en la ryme, et en la raison, que je ne scay duquel je doy plus avoir pitié, ou de l'œuvre ainsi oultrement gastée, ou de l'ignorance de ceux qui l'imprimerent.
>
> *ŒUVRES DE VILLON*, SIG. A III R–V

> [I found so many errors in the order of the couplets and the verses, in the meter, in the language, in the rhyme, and the sense [of the text] that I don't know what I should pity more, the work which has been utterly ruined or the ignorance of those who printed it.]

Marot reordered Villon's works chronologically (as he had done when publishing his own collected works the previous year), making the collection a reflection and thus an extension of Villon's life. He describes his corrections of the text itself in medical terms, saying the text was badly wounded and comparing his work to that of a surgeon. Marot thus suggests that it is in part thanks to his editorial work that Villon's text will live on in the memory of posterity.[11]

Erasmus, in his famous adage "Festina lente," had complained about the damage done to "good literature" by the great majority of printers who were

11 On Marot's edition of Villon, see Jacqueline Cerquiglini Toulet, "Clément Marot et la critique littéraire et textuelle. Du bien renommé au mal imprimé Villon," in Defaux and Simonin, *Clément Marot*, 157–64; Catherine Dop Miller, "Clément Marot et l'édition humaniste des œuvres de François Villon," *Romania* 112, 1–2 (1991), 217–42; and Madeleine Lazard, "Clément Marot comme éditeur et lecteur de Villon," *Cahiers de l'association internationale des études françaises*, 32 (1980), 7–20.

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only interested in money: there were only a few printers, such as Aldo Manuzio and Johann Froben, who were dedicated to preserving "good literature." Erasmus claims that "he who restores a literature in ruins [...] is engaged on a thing sacred and immortal, and works for the benefit not of one province only but of all nations everywhere and of all succeeding ages."[12] Marot echoes Erasmus in his edition of Villon and also in the first authorized edition of his own works. Editors and printers have a crucial role to play in maintaining and transmitting texts so that they can remain in cultural memory. Without the careful work of editors and printers, a body of work can slowly erode and fade. Marot was concerned not only with the damage that had been done to Villon's work by careless editions, but also about the future of his own work.

In the preface of the 1532 edition of his *Adolescence clémentine*, Marot expresses his anger over the unauthorized editions of his works, which he claims were hawked and published in the streets ("cryer et publier par les rues" [sig. + ii r]) with little care, in versions full of errors. He also complains that his works were mixed with the works of others, both good and bad. Given similar complaints about printers in the preface to his edition of Villon's poetry (which appeared shortly after the first edition of the *Adolescence clémentine*), we can assume that Marot was also worried about whether corrupt editions of his texts would degrade his poems to the point that they could no longer claim a place in cultural memory.

The way that Marot went about publishing his own works also suggests that he was aiming to give them the prestige of canonical texts. In order to do this he relied on other "memory specialists." The first authorized edition of Marot's works was printed by Geoffroy Tory in association with the publisher and bookseller Pierre Roffet. Since 1531, Geoffroy Tory had held the title of "royal printer" to François I^er^. Tory had first been a professor of Latin and Greek in Paris. He later left teaching and became a printer, closely tied to the court of François I^er^. In the 1520s, Tory published books of hours, ceremonial programs, and his magnificent *Champfleury*, which set new standards for French typography and book design. Pierre Roffet had been the royal binder since 1511 and specialized in printing liturgical books in Latin.[13] Neither Tory nor Roffet had published vernacular poetry before their edition of Marot's works in 1532. In having Tory and Roffet print the first authorized edition of his works, Marot was tying it to the world of the court and to humanist learning.

12 Erasmus, *Adagia*, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 33, trans. and ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1991), 10.

13 Annie Parent, *Les Métiers du livre à Paris au XVI^e^ siècle (1535–1560)* (Geneva: Droz, 1974), 206–08.

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Several details of the edition itself furthered the humanist associations that would come from having Tory as a publisher. It was printed in a roman font typical of humanist publications rather than a gothic font, more typical for vernacular poetry, and the first text in the volume was Marot's translation of a classical Latin text, an eclogue from Virgil's *Bucolics*. The edition also contained several signed Latin epigraphs praising Marot, further tying Marot's poetry to humanist learning and classical culture. One was contributed by Geoffroy Tory himself, another by Nicolas Bérault, a professor at the *College des lecteurs royaux* and one of the greatest French humanists of his generation. With the help of renowned humanists, Marot was placing his poetry in the context of classical culture, which, it was thought, would serve as a foundation, through the process of *translatio studii*, on which to create a new French cultural memory.[14]

Tory produced several print runs of Marot's *Adolescence* in quick succession in 1532 and 1533. The book was ostensibly a commercial success. But Marot would soon experience setbacks in his ability to control publications of his work. When Tory died in 1533, Marot lost a meticulous and learned editor, and in 1534, because of his ties to the evangelical movement, Marot was obliged to flee the backlash against critiques of the Catholic mass during the Affair of the Placards. During his exile, spent in Ferrara and Venice, Marot's works were published in multiple editions without his supervision, and he was again displeased with the results.

After his return from exile in 1537, Marot looked to regain control over the editions of his works. He had become close to another learned humanist, Etienne Dolet, who was in the process of becoming a printer and whom Marot entrusted with the task of publishing the corrected version of his works in a new and augmented edition.[15] In his *Commentarii linguae latinae*, published in 1537, Dolet had made comments very similar to those of Erasmus and Marot about the poor quality of most editions, comments that may have given Marot confidence in him. Dolet had also been granted a broad ten-year privilege, which could serve to protect Marot's works from the publication of

14 In a number of poems, Marot also explicitly compares himself to Virgil by evoking the similarity between his name and Virgil's cognomen, "Maro" (See Guillaume Berthon, "Les Débuts de Dolet, comme libraire (Marot, 1538): Histoire d'un fiasco," in *Étienne Dolet, 1509–2009*, ed. Michèle Clément [Geneva: Droz, 2012], 244–51), thus implicitly inscribing himself into the canon of classical authors.

15 On this edition and the falling out between Marot and Dolet see Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, "Les premières éditions collectives de Clément Marot publiées à Lyon," in Defaux and Simonin, *Clément Marot*, 699–711; Gérard Defaux, "Histoire d'une brouille: Clément Marot, Etienne Dolet et l'épigramme 'Contre l'inique,'" *French Forum* 17, 2 (1992), 153–67; and Berthon, "Les Débuts de Dolet," 325–43.

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unauthorized editions.[16] In a new preface for the expanded 1538 edition of his works, Marot directly addresses Dolet, whom he refers to as his dear friend ("cher Amy Dolet," sig. a ii r) and as a learned man ("docte Dolet," sig. a iii r). He requests Dolet's help in both producing the best possible text of his works and also in protecting Marot's works from unscrupulous or incompetent printers and booksellers. Dolet, who did not have his own presses until 1540, partnered with the Lyonnais printer François Juste to produce the new edition of Marot's works. However, only Dolet's name and printer's mark appear on the title page.

As soon as Dolet's 1538 edition was published, however, there was a falling out between Marot and Dolet. What caused the rapid and radical change in their relations has been the subject of much speculation (see note 14 sources), but, for our purposes, what is interesting is that Marot immediately turned to another humanist printer and bookseller, Sébastian Gryphe, to offer a corrected version of Dolet's edition. Sébastian Gryphe was known for his high-quality editions and was closely tied to the prestige of humanist learning. He specialized in publishing classical Greek and Latin texts in translation as well as the works of humanists such as Erasmus, Budé, and Alciato.

Through his ties to Tory, Dolet, and Gryphe, it seems clear that Marot wanted to produce a definitive version of his text and associate his printed works with the high-end cultural production central to the creation of cultural memory. As he suggests in his edition of François Villon's works, it is not enough for a text to be published for it to live on in the memory of posterity. It must be treated with care and erudition by editors and printers, just as the humanists were doing for canonical works by Plato, Cicero, and Ovid—and just as Marot was doing for Villon.

After turning to several learned editors to defend his work, and after playing the role of editor for Villon's works, Marot also presents himself as the defender and editor of his own work in a liminal piece published in the 1538 edition of his works after years of frustration with editions that published incorrect versions of his poems and attributed the works of others to him:

> Racler je veulx (approche toy mon Livre)
> Ung tas d'escriptz, qui par d'aultres sont faictz.
> Or va, c'est fait: cours legier, et délivre:
> Deschargé t'ai d'un lourd, et pesant faiz.

16 On the unconventional privilege granted to Dolet and on his critique of printers, see Claude Longeon, *Bibliographie des œuvres d'Etienne Dolet* (Geneva: Droz, 1980), XXVI–XXXI.

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S'ilz font Escriptz (d'advanture) imparfaictz,
Te veulx tu faire en leurs fautes reprendre?
S'ilz les font bien, ou mieulx, que je ne fais,
Pourquoy veulx tu sur leur gloire entreprendre?
Sans eulx (mon Livre) en mes Vers pourras prendre
Vie apres moy, pour jamais, ou long temps.
Mes Œuvres donc content te doivent rendre:
Peuples, et Roys s'en tiennent bien contentz.[17]

[I want to scrape away (come here my book) / a pile of writings from other hands. / Now go, it's done. Run fast and free. / I have released you from a heavy and onerous burden. / If they produce texts that happen to be flawed, / would you want to be reproached for their mistakes? / If they write well or better than I do, / why would you want to steal their glory? / Without them (my book) through my verse you will / live on after me forever or for a long time. / So my works should satisfy you: / they have satisfied peoples and kings.]

A canonical text, in the sense given to "canon" by Assmann, must be set apart from the non-canonical: "There must be a definitive line between the canonical and the apocryphal" (78). The canonical text must also remain unchanged and uncorrupted in order to acquire an immortal status. Setting the canonical text apart from the masses of other texts and preserving the canonical text's authenticity is the work not of poets, but of textual scholars, editors, and printers, or perhaps also, as Marot's poem suggests, the work of the poet functioning as editor of his own texts. Whatever poets say about how divine inspiration leads to an eternal memory embodied in their verse, Marot makes clear both through his actions and his words that it takes a network of specialists and specialized practices to create and maintain cultural memory.

Marot's discourse on the memory embodied in poetry undoubtedly stems from the ancient Greek and Roman models. But Marot does not dwell on mythological explanations or on divine inspiration in his treatment of poetic memory. Rather, his approach is much more pragmatic and is sensitive to the shifting cultural landscape in early-sixteenth-century France, as he takes into account the importance of the court of François I^er^, of the new humanist learning, and of high-quality printed books in producing and maintaining

17 Clément Marot, *Œuvres de Clément Marot de Cahors, valet de chambre du Roy* (Lyon: Etienne Dolet, 1538), sig. A iv r.

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cultural memory. In attending to the specific cultural dynamics of his time, Marot reflects some of the basic cross-cultural dimensions of "cultural memory" as they have been theorized by Jan Assmann.

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CHAPTER 10

Naïve douceur: Earthy Grist and Gallic Verve in the Marotic Rondeau

Robert J. Hudson

Quel vouloir j'ai de voir garder les Muses
Entre François leur naïve douceur.

THOMAS SÉBILLET (1548)[1]

• • •

(P)uis me laisse [...] toutes ces vieilles Poësies Françoyses [...]: comme Rondeaux, Ballades [...] et autres telles espisseries, qui corrumpent le goust de nostre Langue: et ne servent si non à porter temoignage de notre ignorance. // Sonne moy ces beaux Sonnets, non moins docte, que plaisante Invention Italienne.

JOACHIM DU BELLAY (1549)[2]

• • •

Sonnez-luy l'antiquaille. Tu nous a bien induict à laisser le blanc pour le bis: les Ballades, Rondeaux, Virlaiz, et Chant Royaux; pour les Sonnetz invention (comme tu dis) Italienne.

BARTHÉLEMY ANEAU (1550)[3]

⁘

1 Thomas Sébillet, 'A l'envieux,' *Art poétique françois* (1548), in *Traités de poétique et de rhétorique de la Renaissance*, ed. Francis Goyet (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990), 42.

2 Joachim du Bellay, *Deffence, et illustration de la langue françoyse* & *Olive* (1549–50), eds. Jean-Charles Monferran and Ernesta Caldini (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 2:131–36.

3 Barthélemy Aneau, *Le Quintil horacien* (1550), in Goyet, *Traités de poétique*, 215.

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Disparaged across the pages of the first four chapters of the second book of Joachim du Bellay's *Deffence, et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549), Clément Marot is the chief referent for the type of "natural" poetry that the Pléiade sought to eradicate in this poetic manifesto.[4] Having defended the potential of the French vernacular against external claims of barbarity in the first half of the work, Du Bellay sets his sights on the ever-looming presence of Marot—now five years deceased but still the incumbent royal laureate *prince des poëtes françois* (so lauded by Thomas Sébillet in the 1548 *Art poétique françois*, to which he is responding in the *Deffence*)—as he identifies which poetic models and verse forms should be adopted, and avoided, by the aspiring poet in France. In this early instantiation of the *querelle des anciens et des modernes*, Du Bellay reduces the importance of Marot's work in decrying the coarse baseness and popular appeal of his language: "Marot me plaist (dit quelqu'un) pour ce qu'il est facile, et ne s'eloigne point de la commune maniere de parler" (Du Bellay II, 120) ["Marot pleases me (some say) because he is easily understood and is never strays too far from the common way of speaking"].[5] Natural, common expression, Du Bellay argues, is precisely what provides fodder for those seeking to deride the French vernacular as unrefined, even barbaric—a point the Angevin poet distills into the third chapter of this second section, in which he defines what he finds most off-putting in Marot's poetry: "Que *le Naturel* n'est suffisant à celuy qui en Poësie veult faire œuvre digne de l'Immortalité" (Du Bellay II, 127–30, emphasis added). ["That *the Natural* is insufficient for he who in Poetry wishes to create a work worthy of Immortality"].[6]

4 See Margaret Ferguson, "An Offensive Defense for a New Intellectual Elite," in *A New History of French Literature*, ed. Denis Hollier (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 194–98, in which the author convincingly reads the *Deffence* as a reactionary response to Sébillet and recognizes that the Pléiade's "chief target of attack is Clément Marot" (194).

5 A central figure of the *querelle*, Academician Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux would infamously deprecate Marot's poetic output as mere courtly banter in his *Art poétique* (1674). For Boileau, Marot's verse is not only trivial, it's vulgar: "Imitons de Marot l'élégant badinage, / Et laissons le burlesque aux plaisants du pont Neuf," (89, vv. 96–97) ["From Marot, let us imitate his elegant courtly banter, / And leave his burlesque verse to the jesters of the Pont Neuf"]. Only two dozen verses later would Boileau recognize Marot's true contribution to French verse, as the poetic beacon of his era, 90, vv. 119–22. *Art poétique*, ed. Sylvain Menant (Paris: Flammarion, 1969).

6 Ironically, the caricature of Marot as natural, *naïf* (or "naïve," in English usage) poet is not only one with which Marot would have agreed but also one Du Bellay would attempt to apply to himself a year later—almost in direct contradiction with his stance in the *Deffence*—in the

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That an attunement to the *natural* in verse could be perceived as negative for an apprentice poet may strike the reader as odd; after all, was natural simplicity not the hallmark element of the greatest verse of Virgil or Homer? In proposing his theory of innovation via imitation, Du Bellay speaks to the limitations of mere translation to transfer the natural, which he designates in the *Deffence* as *le Naïf* or *nayfveté*: "il est impossible de rendre [le Naïf] avecques la mesme grace, dont l'Autheur en a usé. [...] (Si) vous efforcez exprimer le Naïf en une autre Langue [...] vostre Diction sera contrainte, froide, et de la mauvaise grace" (II, 88) ["It is impossible to render *le Naïf* with the same grace as that of the original Author. [...] If you force yourself to express *le Naïf* in another Language [...] your Diction will be forced, cold and lacking in grace"]. And, later in the *Deffence*, Du Bellay points to the very poetic giants mentioned above to further insist on the impossibility of translation: "j'allegueray seulement un Petrarque, du quel j'ose bien dire, que si Homere, et Virgile renaissans avoint entrepris de le traduye, ilz ne le pouroint rendre avecques la mesme grace, et *nayfveté*, qu'il est en son vulgaire Toscan" (II, 88, emphasis added) ["I put forward the name of none other than Petrarch, of whom I dare to say that even if Homer or Virgil were reborn and undertook the task of translating him, not even they could render the text with the same grace and *naïveté* as in his original Tuscan dialect"]. For Du Bellay, invention had to be created in the vernacular (albeit heavily augmented with neologisms); however, the Bellayan brand of innovation and the poetic manifestation of naïveté had to subscribe to accepted, classic poetic forms—and certainly not use the barbaric forms and common speech that he claimed to have degraded the French vernacular in the first place. Naïveté was something to be achieved and represented as the end result of a careful and involved program of study of the Ancients. Never was it natural in any organic sense of being native, ingrained, or emerging from any particular locus. Indeed, Du Bellay's views of naïveté tap into the long-standing sociological debate of nature versus nurture: *le naïf* was never innate; it must be acquired. For others, however, access to the essence of a language was inbred and intrinsically linked to locale.

Among his Renaissance contemporaries, Du Bellay was certainly not alone in considering the role of the natural and naïveté, that which is innate and that which is acquired in poetic creation. Across the various *artes poeticae* of mid-sixteenth-century France, naïveté regularly appears as an ideal to be espoused by poets composing in the vernacular; however, what was understood as being

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preface to his *Olive*: "en mes escriptz y a *beaucoup plus de naturelle invention* que d'artificielle ou supersticieuse immitation" (Du Bellay II, 236, emphasis added) ["In my writing, there is much more natural invention than artificial or superstitious imitation"].

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natural is often quite different.[7] For Marot apologist Sébillet, ideals of naïveté and a pleasant natural appeal in French verse were the outspoken objectives of his groundbreaking *Art poétique françois* (1548). Beginning with a sonnet addressed "A l'envieux," Sébillet poses the following rhetorical question: "Qu'ai espéré de ce tant peu d'ouvrage?" (42) ["What have I hoped to accomplish with this small, minor work?"]. Following this, he subsequently offers an answer in rejecting all notions of personal honor, financial gain, or a didactic end, admitting in his tercets that he simply intends to indicate a poetic path to enable the desiring poet (*l'envieux*) to both access and preserve the *naïve douceur* of the Muses in France.[8] Of course, Sébillet's model for his notion of poetic naïveté in verse—one born of the land and implying a natural contiguity between essence and language—would be Marot, who not only paved the path for the "modern" French sonnet form employed by both theorists, Sébillet and Du Bellay, in publishing the first Petrarchan formal exercise in the vernacular in 1536, but also excelled in his variations of the medieval rondeau, ballade, and other forms dismissed by Du Bellay in the *Deffence* as outmoded and excessively unrefined. In fact, as the remainder of this essay will contend, it is in Marot's modulations on the rondeau, a preferred form of his father Jean and his *Grands Rhétoriqueurs* contemporaries, that one finds the greatest theoretical manifestation and poetic embodiment of Marot's own views concerning naïveté and organic creation in vernacular French verse.

Having identified *naïve douceur* as the objective of his *Art poétique françois* in the volume's liminal sonnet, Sébillet stops short of prescribing or indicating any particular form that would best illustrate this natural ideal. Furthermore, while he does spend the first book of this treatise examining the linguistic particularities of the French vernacular of which a poet aspiring to natural expression should be aware, and while the second book occasionally touches on what elements of the individual forms examined best embody his idea of Frenchness, Sébillet remains vague, perhaps intentionally, as to the definition of *naïve douceur*, counseling young poets to "se parfaire plus de nature que d'art" (58) ["refine/perfect (an attunement to) nature over art"]. Later, in a section entitled "Naturel des Français," he expounds this idea,

7 See Grahame Castor's chapter "'Naïveté' in Poetry," in *Pléiade Poetics: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Thought and Terminology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 77–85, for an informative explanation of the multifaceted connotations of what is considered the "natural" in poetry from the theoretical writings of Ronsard, Du Bellay, etc.

8 Referenced in the Sébillet quote from the first epigraph.

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> Mais en ce avons-nous comme en toutes choses suivi notre naturel, qui est de prendre des choses étrangères non tout ce que nous y voyons, ains seulement que nous jugeons faire pour nous, et être à notre avantage" (132)
>
> ["But have we, as in all things, followed our nature, that is to take from foreign things not all that we see but rather only those elements we judge to be useful for us and to our advantage"].

In this same section, he later concludes that such evaluation of a literary work should be based on whether or not the subjects they illustrate are adequately attuned "à l'information de nos mœurs et vie" (132) ["to that which informs our habits, customs, and life"]. Clearly preferring natural expression to studied and stilted artifice, Sébillet creates a checklist of what naïveté should resemble and perhaps accomplish, without necessarily dictating which forms best achieve this. The gentle, mild, unaffected nature of any given verse form—that is, its *naïve douceur*—should enable its cultural essence to emanate effortlessly. For his part, however, Sébillet's chief reference Marot does both choose and defend a form that embodies this ideal of local creation: the rondeau.

In the *Adolescence clémentine* (1532), Marot's "Jeunesse en Papier," the 58 compositions that comprise his section of "Rondeaux," decidedly dwarf all other poetic forms in the volume (i.e. 30 *chansons*, 13 *ballades* and epitaphs, 9 *épîtres*, 8 *dizains*, etc.). Of these generic divisions, the "Rondeaux" likewise represent the only form that Marot introduces with formulaic meta-introduction of the form in his first poem of the section, "Rondeau responsif à ung autre, qui se commenceoit: 'Maistre Clement mon bon amy'":

> En ung rondeau sur le commencement
> Ung vocatif, comme Maistre Clement,
> Ne peult faillir rentrer par huys, ou porte:
> Aux Orateurs savans je m'en raporte,
> Qui d'en user se garde saigement.
> Bien inventer vous fault premierement,
> L'invention deschiffrer proprement,
> Si que raison et ryme ne soit morte
> En un rondeau.
> Usez des motz receuz communement,
> Rien superflu n'y soit aulcunement,
> Et de la fin quelque bon propos sorte,

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Clouez tout court, rentrez de bonne sorte
Maistre passé, serez certainement
En un rondeau.[9]

[In a rondeau to begin, a vocative like "Master Clement" cannot fail to enter by gate or door. In this I defer to learned orators, who abstain wisely from using any such devices. To invent well you need first to properly explain the invention, so that neither reason nor rhyme may wane in a rondeau. Use commonly accepted words, let there be nothing superfluous, and conclude with some good quip. Nail it shut efficiently, exit gracefully, and you'll be recognized a master of the rondeau.]

François Rigolot reads this as "un véritable 'art poétique' du rondeau," in which the "théoricien en Marot [...] se plaît à en exhiber les virtualités" (*CM* I, 549n) ["A veritable *ars poetica* for the rondeau, [in which] Marot as theorist [...] takes pleasure in exhibiting its poetic potential"]. In this initial rondeau, following a brief criticism of a peer's composition, Marot quite linearly lays out the steps of creation. Invention, the first step of the second rhetoric that is poetry, remains the primordial interest of the rondeau as well.[10] For the son of Jean Marot, invention refers to the art of versification, the technical savvy gleaned, to employ an apt phrase from Thierry Montavani, "dans l'atelier du rhythmeur" ["in the *rhythmeur*'s workshop" (a play on rhymester and master of versification)].[11] A poet is aware of how and where to begin, his entry point of creation, and has also mastered the rudiments of his art. With rhyme and reason vouched by polished form and the poet prepared to invent, Marot's next directive speaks to his poetic naïveté as he understands it and is key to his entire artistic enterprise: "Usez des motz receuz communement" (v. 10).[12] The use of a natural, common

9 Clément Marot, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. François Rigolot, 2 vols. (Paris: Flammarion, 2005–2007), I.130–31. Henceforth, this text will be abbreviated as *CM* (Clément Marot).

10 See Castor, *Pléiade Poetics*, 86–136, for discussions of the various interpretations of invention—from god-given gift, to (re-)discovery, to creative application of rules—in the sixteenth century.

11 Thierry Mantovani, "Dans l'atelier du rhythmeur: contribution à l'étude des techniques de versification chez Jean et Clément Marot, Guillaume Cretin et André de la Vigne," PhD diss., Université de Lyon II-Lumière, 1995. According to the author, Marot would have been trained as a verse craftsman or artisan by his father, initially preferring work to inspiration.

12 In his critical edition of Marot, Rigolot points out that Rabelais shares a similar linguistic agenda in his works from the same period (*CM* I, 55on.). The unflattering epitaph that

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language, properly versified within an established fixed form and without unnatural excess ("Rien superflu n'y soit aulcunement, / [...] Clouez tout court, rentrez de bonne sorte"[vv. 11, 13]), is the basic element of the Marotic poetics in the rondeau, as well as in other fixed forms he preferred later in his poetic career. Indeed, in employing succinct, time-tested French forms—such as the rondeau—and using a popular, familiar vocabulary, Marot's poetics, to be expounded in the paragraphs to follow, is virtually brimming with French regional specificity, even *terroir*. While Marot would progressively move away from the rondeau form in his verse after the *Adolescence*, within this early form—disparaged by Du Bellay and others favoring Italianate imitation—one finds an example of the exceptionally earthy grist that Barthélemy Aneau would prescribe, in his 1550 *Quintil horacien* rebuttal of Du Bellay, for the Gallic mill of those desiring to create poetically in the French vernacular.

Naïve Douceur, the title of this essay borrowed from the Sébillet formulation above, refers to the poetic end result of emulating the Marotic *ars poetica*: that is, creating a natural, Gallic form of poetic expression based in the very values espoused in the above *rondeau à clé*. Over the three sections below, this essay proposes to examine these ideals one by one: 1) the process of Gallic imitation, invention and creation from Jean to Clément Marot; 2) the nature of an earthy, regionalistic and ultimately bawdy mode of expression that Clément Marot embodies most masterfully in the preferred verse form of his early poetic invention: the rondeau, and 3) the transmission of poetic Gallicism from the rondeau to other fixed forms once Marot and adherents to his Gallic school evolve to adopt other fixed verse forms. By way of disclaimer, however, to begin, Gallicism or Gallic expression in the sixteenth century never implies any anachronistic sense of nativism or presumed ethnic unification; rather, it should be understood here as an appeal to diverse regional attachment (Marot appends "de Cahors-en-Quercy" to his name, Jean Lemaire is "de Belges," Tyard is "Mâconnais" and Des Autels "un gentilhomme Charollois") and a desire to poetically express what is natural to individual experience and true to local habits and customs. While Du Bellay's organic allegory in the *Deffence* (1, 3) is one of grafting rich and productive foreign elements into an inadequate French soil, as had the Romans, who "en guise de bons Agriculteurs, l'ont premierement transmuée d'un lieu sauvage en un domestique: puis affin que plus tost, et mieux elle peust fructifier, coupant à l'entour les inutiles rameaux" (81) ["as great Agriculturists, first transplanted (vegetation) from far-flung lands into domestic ones: then, to allow it to produce better fruit sooner, pruned

Du Bellay's poetic cohort Ronsard addressed to Rabelais indicates quite clearly that the Pléiade held Rabelais, like Marot, as part of the old Gallic school to be eradicated.

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away all useless surrounding twigs and branches"], Marot also allegorizes poetic fecundity using agricultural tropes but clearly prefers produce that is more homegrown. In his introduction to the *Adolescence*, his early verse is presented as a garden: "Ce sont Oeuvres de jeunesse. Ce sont coups d'essay. Ce n'est (en effect) autre chose, qu'un petit jardin que je vous ay cultivé de ce que j'ay peu recouvrer d'arbres, d'herbes, et fleurs de mon printemps" (*CM* I, 35) ["These are Works of youth. These are mere attempts. This in (in effect) nothing more than a small garden that I cultivated for you of what I could gather of the trees, herbs and flowers of my springtime"]. For Marot, poetic creation favors intrinsic nature over implanted nurturing.

Beyond Du Bellay, as the *querelle* hit full stride in the seventeenth century, the classical-minded French Academy would eventually recognize Marot's inventive contributions to French verse. Albeit following a score of scornful reductions in his *Art poétique* (1674), Boileau ultimately offers an open assessment of the court poet:

> Marot bientôt après fit fleurir les ballades,
> Tourna les triolets, rima les mascarades,
> *A des refrains réglés asservit les rondeaux,*
> *Et montra pour rimer les chemins tout nouveaux*.
>
> 90, VV.119–22

> [Marot soon after having flourished the ballad, turned musical triplets, rhymed mascarades, *with regulated refrains subjugated the rondeau, and showed how to rhyme in entirely novel ways*.]

Here, as Boileau illustrates, having trained his hand with the circumstantial verse of the court—through which he mastered invention—Marot undertook the fixed form of the rondeau and introduced new paths of creation in the period between Villon and Ronsard, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It is in his early development, mastery and personalization of the rondeau form that *naïve douceur*, an earthy, organic, Gallic manifestation of the self in verse, burgeons in Marot's poetic verse.

Tel père, tel fils: The Rondeau from Jean to Clément Marot

As a poetic form, the rondeau has been largely overlooked. The ultimate canonical victory of Du Bellay over Sébillet, as well as its associations with the stilted pedantry of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, have rendered the rondeau a

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victim of history. The same could be said of Jean Marot, for whom the rondeau was a chief form of poetic expression and whose reputation endured nearly a century of denigration in Third Republic criticism.[13] Beginning largely with Gérard Defaux, however, the past thirty years have witnessed this trend in viewing Jean Marot as "un des maillons incontournables de cette chaîne poétique ininterrompue qui unit le *Roman de la Rose* aux diverse productions de la Pléiade" (*JM*, xlvii) ["one of the unavoidable links in that unbroken poetic chain that connects the *Roman de la Rose* to the diverse creations of the Pléiade"]. What Defaux emphasizes here—and what Du Bellay and others since seem to miss—is that Jean Marot's era, the period that saw the rise of Anne de Bretagne and François I[er], was the great age of Gallic poetry, and Marot was a pivotal figure in preparing the way for the Renaissance in verse to follow.

To expand this essay's working definition of Gallicism and apply it to Jean Marot's late medieval setting, the term is employed to denote an auto-reflexive tendency through which French-speaking writers aim to embody the essence and interests of their own regional Frenchness, rather than opting to betray local traditions in favor of any agenda that preferred external models. Gallic poets embrace regionalism, ancestral heritage, and a particular mindset and sense of humor that emerge from the amalgamation of French experience. *La gauloiserie* (as Gallicism is often designated in modern French) has been defined as a familiarly ribald *joie-de-vivre* imbued with "that pungent blend of naïveté and cunning, of heavenly aspirations and earthly appetites" that defined medieval France.[14] Again, naïveté and a worldly attachment to land and locale are part of this definition, as is likewise a particular bawdiness that dominates French popular literature from the Middle Ages. Not to be confused with *gauloiserie*, "Gallicanism" represents yet another prong of Gallicism, as this idea, notably promulgated by Jean Lemaire de Belges in his 1511 *La Concorde des deux langages*, calls for cultural unity within the French vernacular and against the Italian/Tuscan vernacular—and this some three decades before Du Bellay's *Deffence*. Both Lemaire's fellow Grand Rhétoriqueur and friend Jean Marot and the Hennuyer poet's recognized disciple Clément Marot, both of whom embody all elements of Gallicism—*gauloiserie* and Gallicansim—as

13 See Guillaume Colletet, *Notices biographiques sur les trois Marot* (Paris: Guiffrey, 1871), Henry Guy, *Clément Marot et son école* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1926), and Gérard Defaux's critical edition of Jehan Marot, *Les Deux Recueils* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), xxxvi–xxxvii. (Henceforth, the latter text will be abbreviated as *JM* (Jehan Marot).).

14 Robert Harrison, *Gallic Salt: Glimpses of the Hilarious Bawdy World of Old French Fabliaux* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 1.

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explained above, would become figureheads of poetic creation aimed to represent *naïve douceur* in the first half of the sixteenth century. And, the rondeau was the shared poetic form that best embodies their efforts within this Gallic tradition, a verse heritage that represents "la charnière entre le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance" and connects Marot *père* to Marot *fils*.[15]

Even if, in her well-known study of Clément and Jean Marot, Françoise Joukovsky identifies more thematic and stylistic differences between the two poets in her search for similarities, she does cite Philip-August Becker, who views the rondeau as a tangible father-to-son heritage, along with Charles-Edward Kinch, who sees it joining the *blason* to form as sort of as "emprunt aux poésies paternelles."[16] More recently, Rigolot has underlined:

> Certes, on a pendant longtemps cherché à opposer à Jean, l'attardé medieval, un Clément qui ferait figure de novateur des temps modernes. Cependant, sans vouloir gommer les différences, il convient de noter les rapprochements qui s'imposent entre les deux générations en présence. [Leurs] techniques ne sont guères différentes.[17]
>
> [To be sure, we have long sought to juxtapose Jean, the backwards medieval poet, against Clément, who would become a veritable innovator of modern times. Without glossing over their differences, similarities between the two generations should be noted. Their techniques are hardly different.]

Despite various differences, the technical ingenuity of both poets, mentor/father and student/son, places the two, along with Lemaire, at the forefront of Gallic verse in their respective generations.

When, as observed in the rondeau "Sur le commencement" analyzed above, Clément Marot urges practitioners of the form to "clouez tout court" and "rentrez de bonne sorte" (v. 13), the poet underlines the necessity for concision as

15 Pierre-Yves Badel, "Le Rondeau au temps de Jean Marot," in *Grands Rhétoriqueurs* (*Cahiers V.-L. Saulnier 14*), eds. Michel Zink and Francis Goyet (Paris: ENS, 1997), 13. In fact, the entirety of the article examines quite succinctly the context, practitioners, objectives, and overall ubiquitousness of the rondeau at the turn of the sixteenth century. See also, Paul Zumthor, *Le Masque et la lumière. La Poétique des grands rhétoriqueurs* (Paris: Seuil, 1978).

16 Françoise Joukovsky, "Clément et Jean Marot," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 29, 3 (1967), 557–65, esp. 557. See also, Florian Preisig, "Clément Marot, éditeur de son père," *Travaux de Littérature* 14 (2001), 119–37.

17 François Rigolot, "Gérard Defaux, feu prince des marotistes. Et maintenant?" *French Forum* 30, 2 (2005), 10. See also, Mantovani, "Dans l'atelier du rhythmeur," 2–15.

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well as the demands of rhyme structure for those undertaking the delicate form of the rondeau. This is apparently another element of the rondeau that was overlooked by Du Bellay, Boileau, and other prejudiced critics who, in the form's wake, would downplay it as coarse and unrefined. On the contrary, given its rhythmic grace, demands for ingenuity in the refrains, and the circuital *roundness* that accounts for its name, the rondeau not only achieved more in less space than the concise, fixed forms of its classical and Italianate counterparts, these very features align it exceptionally well with Marot's Gallic enterprise in verse: to represent *naïve douceur*. Some critics even suggest that it was the complexity of the Marotic rondeau that lead subsequent generations to abandon the form (Badel, 35). Reaching far beyond the mere *élégant badinage* to which it is reduced by Boileau and, all the while, embodying the *refrains réglés* of musical medieval verse, beneath the pen of Clément Marot, the Gallic thematic potency—embodying *gauloiserie* and Gallicanism—of the Marotic rondeau truly began to emerge.

The Gallic Verve of the Marotic Rondeau

As Clément Marot began to codify the rondeau and morph the form into something more germane to his own earthy, organic Gallic poetic platform in the *Adolescence*, a series of tendencies developed from father Jean's rondeaux begin to emerge: 1) a witty, jovial, and lighthearted humor; 2) an element of prurience, bawdiness, and sexual achievement (that goes against the chaste Petrarchan lyricism embraced by the early Pléiade); and 3) a rustic, proto-patriotic attachment to the French regional *pays* or *terroir*.

To the first point concerning humor, the enclosed roundness and repetition in the refrain that make the rondeau what it is are closely akin, if judged alongside the most comical moments of medieval French *fabliaux* and farce traditions, to an earthy albeit witty sense of humor that operates heavily on candor and double entendre.[18] It is perhaps no etymological happenstance

18 See Harrison, *Gallic Salt*, 1–4, as he deals with humor in French *fabliaux*. While this essay is primarily interested in the transitional period between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, this tendency is observable across French culture from the puns of La Fontaine and Molière, to the emphasis on *esprit* (wit) during the Enlightenment and even up to the *esprit de l'escalier*—the disappointment felt when devising the perfect witty response, however too late to deliver it—in contemporary France. In English, the idiomatic expression "double entendre," employed to describe a turn of phrase that conveys a lewd

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that the English term "frankness" derives from the Old French *franc* and the Late Latin *francus*. In fact, the first dictionary of the Académie française (1694) offers the exemplary sentence: "On dit, *Un franc Gaulois,* pour dire, Un homme de bonne foy [mais aussi, en mauvaise part] pour signifier Un homme simple & grossier" ["We use the term 'a frank Gaul' to denote 'a man of good faith/intentions/manners' [but also, negatively] to signify 'a simple and crude man'"]. Badel explains that according to the rules that govern the rondeau "la brièveté préserve de la pesanteur" (13) ["Its brevity ensures its gravity"]. In speaking of Clément Marot's adaptation of the form, Badel adds, "c'est une forme que l'on veut simple, sinon facile" (17) ["It's a form that aims for simplicity, even facility"]. In the Marotic rondeau, this frankness, inherent wit, and varied repetition in the refrain allow for simple Gallic sentiments to be related with the natural ease—or naïveté—that the form affords.

Pressing forward to the point of suggestive ribaldry, the bawdy elements of Gallicism are transmitted quite effectively through the word games of *la séconde rhétorique* (i.e. puns, *rimes équivoquées*, etc.) long before they're adopted and adapted by Clément Marot.[19] For an example of this, consider the development of this tendency in the first stanza of Jean Marot's particularly ribald "Trentehuyctiesme Rondeau":

> Tant qu'il suffist d'amours je me *con*tente.
> Car supposé que femme ainsi *qu'on* tempte
> Par doulx regards m'ayt de son *con* tempté,
> Pour le present je me tiens *con*tenté,
> Deliberé plus ne mettre en *con* tenté.
>
> *JM*, 83–84

> [As long as love is abundant, I am *cunt*ent. For supposing that a woman who *cunt*rives by sweet glances to tempt me with her *cunt*, for the present time I remain *cunt*ented, determined to put nothing more into a tempter's *cunt*.]

---

or improper meaning alongside surface-level understanding, is actually a false French loanword. So quintessentially French was this comic tendency that the English idiom has outlived its early modern French antecedent "à deux ententes," from which it derives.

19 See Zumthor, *Le Masque et la lumière*, 196–281.

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According to Badel, for early-sixteenth-century practitioners of the rondeau, generally speaking, "s'ils font sa part à la grivoiserie, ils cèdent peu à l'obscénité" (31) ["If they do carry an element of ribaldry, they rarely give way to obscenity"]. In this *calembour equivoqué* on the term "con," Jean Marot appeals to Gallic bawdiness, all the while avoiding blatant obscenity. The punning humor remains light and jovial.[20] Even if unabashed references to cuckoldry and sexuality are rather commonplace in his own mature verse, Clément Marot's own early rondeau production remains relatively free from ostensible lewdness, opting rather for more subtle expressions of Gallic ribaldry.[21] Consider Marot's rondeau "Aux damoyselles paresseuses d'escrire à leurs amys" (XLI), which, again addressed to women, takes a witty, bawdy turn in its final stanza:

> Bon jour: et puis, quelles nouvelles?
> N'en sauroit on de vous avoir?
> Si brief ne m'en faictes savoir,
> J'en feray de toutes nouvelles.
> Puis que vous estes si rebelles,
> Bon vespre, bonne nuyct, bon soir,
> Bon jour.
> Mais si vous cueillez des groselles,
> Envoyez m'en: Car pour tout voir,
> Je suis gros, mais c'est de vous veoir
> Quelque matin mes damoyselles:
> Bon jour!
> *CM*, 152

> [Good morning: and, then, any news? Might we receive some from you? However brief, if you will let me know, I would each to you renew. But, since you are so contrarian, Good evening, good night, good-bye, Good morning. Still, if you pluck any red currants, send me some: for having seeen all, I am engrossed, but truly it is to see you some morning my young ladies: Good morning!]

20 Here, Marot plays with the homonymy between the Latinate prefix *con-* (meaning "with") and the French *con* (from the Latin *cuniculus*, meaning "cavity," "mine" or "burrow," and used vulgarly to denote the female genitalia—therefore sharing an etymological origin with the English *cunt*). However, while I employ *cunt-* in my translation, it merits noting that the French/Marot usage is much more playful and less obscene than is its English translation.

21 For later examples of more brazen coarseness of expression, see the mature Marot's *Epigrammes* (1538).

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In a composition that begins as a mere admonishment to young women who fail to maintain correspondence with their male counterparts, followed by a feigned leave-taking in the second stanza, this rondeau ultimately tends to the bawdy as it concludes. From the bright cherry coloring of the red currants (*groselles*, or *groseilles* in modern French), which Marot directly links to the female breast in a later rondeau, "Et le tétin rond comme une groselle" (XLV) ["And the nipple round like a red currant"], to his avowal of the sexually arousing effect of seeing them that repeats the first syllable *gros-* (*Je suis gros, mais c'est de vous veoir*, v. 10), Gallic undertones are certainly present. In the end, his surface-level innocent plea for breakfast gives way to the unexpected witty punch line of *Bon jour!* with which the suggestive Clément awakens in the morning from the previous evening's conquest.[22] While not all Marotic rondeaux bear this carnal trait, a penchant for the bawdy—as readily observed in the prose of his Gallic friend and contemporary Rabelais—remains an important component of his conception of *naïve douceur*.

Finally, the ideas of *terroir* and *locus amœnus* as essential Gallic elements are key to Marot's poetic agenda on display in his early rondeaux. Of course, the modern conception of *terroir* applies most directly today to agriculture (particularly viticulture) as well as gastronomy; still, it is quite useful to transpose this ideal of a vital attachment to region and to one's paternal, rustic origins onto the verse of early modern France. While notions of AOC (confirmed origin of agricultural products), recognized *produits régionaux*, and *vin de pays* certainly did not exist in the early modern period, there remains all the same a pronounced sense that individuality emerges from the soil and ambient features of one's paternal region; a poetic agenda of *naïve douceur* speaks directly to this French mentality. For example, in his autobiographical epistle *L'Enfer* (1527), Clément Marot insists that his idealized, idyllic youth spent in the hills and orchards that line the River Lot in "Cahors-en-Quercy" bear a profound influence on his work. (Rigolot, likewise, points to Jean Marot's poetic humility as founded in a simple, rural setting alongside an exaggerated ignorance of learned languages [*CM*, 1].) This rural sentimentality is also related in the Marotic rondeau, a local cultural product of sorts that employs a simple French vernacular and a thematics germane to its propitious locale of creation.

22 Despite the inventive albeit false medieval etymology, the Gallic/Gallus "coq qui chante" was a symbol of sexual prowess that the early modern French believed to be their inheritance from their carnal Gaulish forebears. Like the crowing cock, the brevity and repetition of the rondeau refrain allow for timing and candor in its surprising, and at times bawdy, revelations. Other rondeaux with witty, subtly sexualized undertones include: "Du baiser de s'amye" (LVII) and "Du soy deffiant de l'amour de s'amye" (XLIV).

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In a final rondeau to be analyzed, the well-known "D'alliance de grand amye" (XXXIX), which has generally been read as an example of the type of airy confection that gave credence to Boileau's claims of *élégant badinage*, there are certain discernable Gallic elements that speak more directly to the idea of *terroir* and reaffirm France as a locus of *naïve douceur*:

> Dedans Paris ville jolie
> Ung jour passant melencolie
> Je prins alliance nouvelle
> À la plus gente damoiselle,
> Qui soit d'icy en Italie.
> D'honnesteté elle est saisie,
> Et croy (selon ma fantaisie)
> Qu'il n'en est gueres de plus belle
> Dedans Paris.
> Je ne la vous nommeray mye,
> Si non que c'est ma grant amye ;
> Car aliance se feit telle,
> Par ung doulx baiser, que j'eu d'elle
> Sans penser aucune infamye,
> Dedans Paris.
>
> *CM*, 151

> In Paris, city fair, one day, spent in despair, I made a new acquaintance, with the most splendid young lady from here to Italy. Quite honestly, enchanted she was, and I believe (for my fancy) hardly any are nearly as beautiful in Paris. N'er at all shall I reveal her name, all I'll say is that she's my true flame, for our bond was forged thus: by a sweet kiss that she gave me without shameful thought or infamy in Paris.

Although fortuitous love and a reverential attitude toward amorous encounters are on display, at the same time, in Paris, the royal seat of the French crown to which he was displaced as a court poet, Marot suggests that one can find a typically French sort of love that surpasses that available in other lands or nations. From the first stanza, this Parisian damsel is exceptional in that she stands out as "la plus gente [...] / Qui soit d'icy en Italie." Following Lemaire's Gallican logic, perhaps not only is the French vernacular preferable to that of Italy, France's women are also comparatively more noble. The poet's love with this young lady is described as pure, sincere, and undefiled—all qualities upheld by an ideal of *naïve douceur*. While Italy may well have engendered

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the Renaissance and a refined Petrarchan lyricism, France remains the proud home to superlative lovers and feminine grace, a chauvinistic impression that Marot ties in succinctly, with a rounded, Gallic concision befitting the rondeau.

Le blanc pour le bis: The Marotic Rondeau Versus the Petrarchan Sonnet

Discussing the demise of the rondeau in his *Art poétique*, Sébillet makes it clear that the form was one no longer in vogue by 1548, while also interestingly aligning the fixed form with the sonnet and epigram: "Car pource que la matière du Rondeau n'est autre que du sonnet ou épigramme, les Poètes de ce temps les plus friands ont quitté le Rondeau à l'antiquité, pour s'arrêter aux Epigrammes et Sonnets" (109) ["For, since the subject matter of the Rondeau is hardly different from that of the sonnet or epigram, the Poets of our age with the most discerning taste have left the Rondeau to the past, to take up the epigram or the sonnet"]. Marot himself, who, as mentioned above, not only published the first sonnet but was also the first to translate a Petrarchan sonnet into the French vernacular, had largely abandoned the rondeau form by 1527; it was, after all, a youthful form from his poetic apprenticeship, one that recalled his now late father. Despite changes in fashion, one one must not forget that the rondeau was still a decidedly French form and one with which Marot built his poetic reputation and elaborated his particular Gallic style of *naïve douceur*. Long before Du Bellay disparaged it in the *Deffence* as something for future poets to leave behind to the Jeux Floraux de Toulouse and the Puy de Rouen of yesteryear, the rondeau had known a sustained period of vogue in medieval France and became a hallmark of late medieval French verse. As adolescent as Clément Marot's rondeau efforts may have been, one cannot fully accept Sébillet's evaluation of them as being "plus exercices de jeunesse fondés sur l'imitation de son père, qu'œuvres de telle étoffe que sont ceux de son plus grand âge" (109) ["more akin to youthful exercises founded on paternal imitation, than works cut from the same fabric as those of his more mature period"]. Of course, Jean Marot died around Clément's thirtieth birthday, constituting for the junior poet both the end of his own adolescence as well as a major poetic watershed in his verse production, as he would have to adapt to the tastes of the Valois court for which he replaced his father as chief poet, causing him to gradually abandon a number of the verse forms with which he had cut his poetic teeth. While the profusion and ubiquity of Marotic rondeau in the *Adolescence* (in both the 1532 *princeps* and 1534 *Suite*) forestall ever reducing the form to merely a servile exercise of imitation or an act of filial piety, alas,

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a pronounced interest in poetic self-promotion and the patronage of a king infatuated with Petrarchism were determining factors in the demise of the Marotic rondeau.[23] As François turned his attention to Italy, so did the court and its poets. Of course, as Petrarchism swept over France, an opportunistic Du Bellay stood ready to latch onto this Valois transalpine focus in his attempts to lift Marot's Gallic crown following the Gallic poet's demise.

Lyonnais scholar and Marot defender Aneau, in his anonymous direct response to the more egregious statements from Du Bellay's *Deffence*, the *Quintil horacien* (1550), presents an apologetics for the earthy Gallic grist of Marotic forms: to Du Bellay's "Sonne-moi ces beaux sonnets" (136), Aneau retorts "Sonnez-lui l'antiquaille. Tu nous a bien induits à laisser le blanc pour le bis: les Ballades, Rondeaux, Virelais, et chants Royaux; pour les sonnets invention (comme tu dis) Italienne" (215) ["Sound out (to me) with these beautiful sonnets. […] Sound out to him with this antiquated rubbish. You've done well to defraud us into leaving behind the *blanc* (blanched, whole white bread) in favor of the *bis* (inferior-quality dark bread): Ballads, *Rondeaux*, *Virelais* and *Chants Royaux*; for the sonnet, (as you say) of Italian invention"]. According to Aneau's gastronomical *blanc*/*bis* analogy, the sonnet is synonymous with dated, foreign, imported Italian *bis*, a less refined, coarser dark bread, whereas the rondeau and other medieval forms represent the *blanc*, bread of a more desirable concoction, produced using a significantly purer grist that maintains the *terroir* of its creative origins.[24] Indeed, his rejoinder holds true to Marot's

23 For a discussion of François 1er's fascination with Petrarchism, see Jean Balsamo, "François 1er, Clément Marot et les origins du pétrarquisme français (1533–1539)," in *Les Poètes français de la Renaissance et Pétrarque*, ed. Jean Balsamo (Geneva: Droz, 2004), 35–51, as well as C. A. Mayer and D. Bentley-Cranch, "Le Premier Pétrarquiste français Jean Marot." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 27, 1 (1965), 183–85. Along similar lines, for Marot's self-promotion, see Scott Francis's recent thesis "Authorial Personae, Ideal Readers and Advertising for the Book in Lemaire, Marot and Rabelais," PhD diss., Princeton University, 2012; see also Gérard Defaux's "'Effacer Jean, & Escrire Clement': Une Douleurese (et Double) Affaire de succession," in *La Génération Marot*, ed. Gérard Defaux (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997), 81–112, for an examination of Marot's necessary reinvention at his appointment to the royal patronage.

24 The 1694 first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* defines the adjective *Bis* as "Brun. Il ne se dit proprement que du pain ou de la paste. *Pain bis. Paste bise. Un lievre mis en paste bise*" ["Brown. Only properly used when speaking of bread or batter. *Brown bread. Brown batter. A hare breaded in brown batter*"]. However, a second definition explains that "On dit en raillerie d'une femme brune, qu'*Elle est bise, qu'elle a la chair bise*." ["Used mockingly to describe a brown-skinned woman; she is brown (*bise*), she has

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personal poetics: the *bis* Italian sonnet, with its prescribed tragic restraint, remains decidedly foreign in the garden of France of the "blanc" *fleur de lys*. Moreover, this preferred earthy Gallic grist is replete with a medieval musicality in its rhythms, repetitions, and thematics that further distance it from the avowed textual preferences of the nascent Pléiade. Not even Du Bellay's coterie remained impervious to Gallicism; even with Ronsard, the sonnet's most illustrious practitioner in Renaissance France, the Petrarchan abstention of *Les Amours de Cassandre* (1552) dissolves into ribald Anti-Petrarchism and gives way to a more Gallic, even more Marotic *beau style bas* as early as *Les Amours de Marie* (1555).

Clément Marot's early adoption and adaptation of the fixed form of the rondeau offered him both great poetic flexibility and Gallic verve, an opportunity to build on the shoulders of his French forebears and fertile soil in which to cultivate his own youthful garden in accordance with the *naïve douceur* of France. Imitating and innovating in the verse workshop of Jean Marot (and under the influence of Lemaire, Guillaume Crétin, and others of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs), the young Clément developed the inflections of his own poetic voice, allowing him to invent in a natural, earthy way that remained true to his French upbringing. This would include imbuing his verse compositions with a lighthearted, ribald, and Gallic humor that was reminiscent of comic traditions of previous literary generations while also echoing the bawdy sallies of contemporary wits like Rabelais and his fellow Renaissance *blasonneurs*. With his voice firmly established, most prolifically through the rondeau, when it came time in 1527 to join the Valois court, that is to "Effacer Jehan, & Escrire Clement," word games reemerge in Marot *fils*'s celebrated "Petite Epistre au Roy," as does the fact that the young, self-promoting Marot built his reputation on the rondeau: "En m'esbatant *je faiz rondeaux en rime*, / Et en rimant bien souvent je m'enrime" (*CM*, 99, vv. 1–2, emphasis added) ["In gamboling about, I make rondeaux that rhyme, / And in rhyming quite often find myself enfettered"]. To replace "le bon Janot," Clément Marot had to accentuate the links between himself and his paternal mentor, which he accomplished with *rimes equivoquées*, puns, wit, self-deprecation and, of course, the rondeau. Literary fad would take Marot from the rondeau to the verse forms in fashion within

brown (*bise*) skin"]. While the *Quintil* was published a century and a half earlier than the Academy's dictionary, this second definition begs the question as to whether or not Aneau's analogy also assumes a question of ethnicity in relation to poetry: Italian/sonnet (brown) vs. French/Gallic medieval forms (white).

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the court; however, with the rondeau, he had developed in his youth an earthy, Gallic voice of *naïve douceur*, one that would continue to influence the style, thematics, and regional attachment present in his laurel-crowned verse of poetic maturity.

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PART 3

On Religious Controversy

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CHAPTER 11

Rhetorics of Peace: Pierre de Ronsard and Michel de L'Hospital on the Eve of the French Wars of Religion[1]

Cathy Yandell

The Wars of Religion (1562–98) figure among the most brutal and murderous moments in French history. Leaders of opposing factions made strategic decisions throughout the wars that brought on a number of otherwise avoidable bloody battles. But before the violence exploded in the early 1560s, Pierre de Ronsard and Michel de L'Hospital had engaged in peace-making efforts—Ronsard in his *Institution pour l'adolescence du roy tres-chrestien Charles IX^e^ de ce nom* (1562), and Michel de L'Hospital in his speeches at the Estates General and following (1560–62). While these generically different writings share several common goals, notably the unification of France under a single Catholic faith, they also display quite distinct ideological and political positions. How does the rhetoric of these important figures reveal their respective projects, both implicit and explicit? Why did certain of these strategies fail and others ultimately succeed several decades later?

While in the early 1560s Catherine de' Medici manifested considerable tolerance toward the Protestants, her first priority was to maintain a strong Catholic, Valois regime—a regime that had been in disarray since Henri II's death in 1559. Since Pierre de Ronsard and the Chancellor Michel de L'Hospital served in Charles IX's court, it is hardly surprising that they would align their positions with the wishes of the Queen Mother.[2] Yet their approaches diverge, first subtly and later dramatically. An analysis of rhetorical examples drawn from these two writers sheds light on strategies for peacemaking in the period, notably from 1560 to 1562, when the possibility of averting the most tragic developments the Wars of Religion still obtained.

1 I am grateful to Ullrich Langer, whose invitation to speak at Madison on Peace and Reconciliation in the Renaissance prompted my thinking on these questions.

2 After serving in various other official capacities, Michel de L'Hospital was appointed the first President of the *Chambre des comptes* in 1555. See [Marie] Seong-Hak Kim, *Michel de L'Hôpital. The Vision of a Reformist Chancellor during the French Religious Wars* (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 1997), 37–42.

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Pierre de Ronsard, the "prince of poets and poet of princes," became a court poet well before he officially held that title. Not only had he been a page as an adolescent boy, but also the first pamphlet bearing his name was an epithalamion dedicated to the royals Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albret in 1549. Thus began, as Roberto Campo has characterized it, a period of "dependency [that Ronsard] at once cultivated and regretted throughout his life."[3] In 1560 both the kingdom of France and Ronsard's career were in disarray. Henri II's death had left a political vacuum, the Amboise conspiracy had been mounted and thwarted, and iconoclastic destruction had taken place in Catholic churches in Rouen and La Rochelle, with violent reprisals against Protestants in Sens, Carcassonne, and elsewhere. A political duel among the rival houses of the Guises and the Bourbons was being refereed by Catherine de' Medici, and power relations were mired in shifting sands. Meanwhile, Ronsard's reputation was dwindling: he had had serious quarrels with Baïf and Du Bellay, he had inveighed publicly against both editors and critics, Charles de Lorraine and other potential patrons had not responded to his entreaties, and his star at the court was decidedly fading.

While the deaths of both Henri II and François II produced great uncertainty about the future of France, the reign of the adolescent king Charles IX began to take shape in 1561, and a bit of hope could be glimpsed on the horizon for both Catherine's political regime and Ronsard's poetic aspirations. It was in this anticipative moment that Ronsard's *Institution pour l'adolescence du roy tres-chrestien Charles IX^e^ de ce nom* appeared in the form of a "plaquette" or pamphlet, proffering a number of predictable lessons for the newly crowned child-king. Given the entangled web of the nascent religious wars and the concomitant power struggles, however, the poem extends far beyond its apparently pedagogical purposes. The *Institution* serves, rather, as a companion piece to the 1561 Colloquy of Poissy, the site of Catherine's grandiose plan for brokering peace among Protestants and Catholics. In this poem, Ronsard promotes a fitting education for a strong ruler who will maintain the peace. Figuring in the tradition of such mirrors of the prince as Budé's treatise for François I^er^ and Erasmus's *De institutione principis Christiani*, the *Institution* by definition privileges humanist learning: indeed, the poet's first counsel is that the king be well educated. Within a fourteen-line excursus, the poet traces the knowledge necessary for the making of war and the defense of the kingdom, in consonance with the Latin adage *Si vis pacem, para bellum*. In dialectical fashion, Ronsard

3 Roberto Campo, "Pierre de Ronsard: Biography and Bibliography," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Sixteenth-Century French Literature*, ed. Megan Conway (Columbia, SC: Bruccoli Clark Layman, 2006), 358.

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foregrounds the very militaristic traits that he will subsequently assign to a secondary position:

> Car l'esprit d'un grand Roy ne doit rien ignorer
> Il ne doit seulement scavoir l'art de la guerre,
> De garder les cités, ou les ruer par terre,
> De piquer les chevaux, ou contre son harnois
> Recevoir mille coups de lances aux tournois:
> De scavoir comme il faut dresser une *Embuscade*,
> Ou donner une *Cargue* ou une *Camisade*,
> Se renger en *bataille* et soubs les *estandars*
> Mettre par artifice en ordre les *soldars*.[4]
>
> [For the mind of a great king must be ignorant of nothing
> Not only must he know about the art of war,
> How to guard cities, or raze them to the ground,
> To ride a horse, or against his armor
> Take on a thousand blows of the lance in tournaments.
> (He must know) how to prepare an ambush,
> To charge or take by assault,
> To prepare for battle and under the banner
> Skillfully line up the soldiers in order.]

Bellicose terms dominate the passage, punctuated by the rhyming syllables *Embuscade / Camisade* et *estandars / soldars*. But soon the poet returns to the primacy of letters over arms for the noble boy who will lead the country:

> Mais les Princes Chrestiens n'estiment leur vertu
> Proceder ny de sang ny de glaive pointu,
> Ains par les beaux mestiers qui des Muses procedent,
> Et qui de gravité tous les autres excedent …
>
> LAUM. 11:5, 27–30; PL. 2:1007

4 Pierre de Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes*, eds. Paul Laumonier, Raymond Lebègue, and Isidore Silver, 25 vols. (Paris: Société des Textes Français Modernes, 1914–75), vol. 11, p. 4, vv. 12–20; Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes*, 2 vols., eds. Jean Céard, Daniel Ménager, and Michel Simonin (Paris: Gallimard, "Bibliothèque de la Pléiade," 1993–94), 2:1007, emphasis added. Hereafter, the editions will be specified as "Laum." and "Pl.," followed by volume, page numbers, and verses.

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> [But Christian Princes know that their virtue
> Does not come from blood nor from the pointed sword,
> But through the beautiful arts that arise from the Muses
> And exceed in importance all the others.]

One of the king's further vital responsibilities, the poet argues, will be to resist the strange and dangerous ideas of Protestantism: "Et garder que le peuple imprime en sa cervelle / Le curieux discours d'une secte nouvelle" (Laum. 11:7, 69–70; Pl. 2:1008) ["And prohibit the people from imprinting in his brain / The curious language of a new sect"]. The method for maintaining order and peace in the kingdom remains clear for the Vendômois poet: the king must not have these new ideas "imprinted" in his brain (*imprimer*—which is a telling choice of verb given that the most incendiary debates of the time were indeed carried on in printed polemical pamphlets).

Much attention in this treatise is lavished on the royal body: the king's brain, as in the preceding passage, and also his corporeal humanity, which is seen as commensurate with that of his subjects: "Car comme nostre corps, vostre corps est de boüe. / Des petis et des grands la fortune se joüe" (Laum. 11:9, 113–14; Pl. 2:1009) ["Like our bodies, your body is made of mud. / With great and small alike, fortune plays"].[5] The repetition forming an internal rhyme, *nostre corps vostre corps*, and the parallelism of "Des petis et des grands la fortune se joüe" both underscore the rapprochement of king and the common man, since both are made of mud—the Hebrew word in Genesis 2 is עָפָר (*aphar*), or clay, implying God's molding of all beings.

In concluding his 186-line poem, Ronsard returns to a decidedly pacific image of the king:

> Lequel je suppliray vous tenir en sa Loy,
> Et vous aymer autant qu'il fit David son Roy,
> Et rendre comme à luy vostre sceptre tranquile
> Sans l'ayde de Dieu la force est inutile.
>
> LAUM. 11:12–13, 183–86; PL. 2:1011

5 This egalitarian image is far from typical for the court poet. As Daniel Ménager observes, Ronsard frequently recognizes the king's divine status: "le roi que [Ronsard] célèbre ne peut plus imiter Dieu, puisqu'il l'est devenu" ["the king whom [Ronsard] celebrates cannot imitate God, because he has become God"] (*Ronsard: Le Roi, le poète, et les hommes* [Geneva: Droz, 1979], 159). At the same time, as Isidore Silver wryly notes, Ronsard was not known for his consistency, *The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard*, vol. 3, *Ronsard's Philosophic Thought*, part 1 (Geneva: Droz, 1992), 38.

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[I beg God to keep you in his law,
And to love you as much as he did David his King,
And to give as [you did] to him your peaceful scepter,
Without God's help, force is useless.]

Five literary devices coalesce in these last lines to considerable effect. The simile in which Charles is compared to David has the most obvious political import, since the Psalms provide a biblical reference blissfully free of theological disagreements—King David was admired by Catholics and Protestants alike.[6] "Tr**an**quile" echoes "r**en**dre" in a pacifying assonance, and the consonance in "vos**t**r**e** scep**t**r**e** **t**r**an**quile" highlights the dynamic interplay among these three words. The metonymic "sceptre" of course represents the young king, and finally, in a dexterous hypallage, which in fact extends the metonymy, "tranquile" grammatically modifies not the king but the scepter as it stands in for his body. This final image combining power and tranquility underscores the poem's purpose less as a pedagogical document than as a political instrument to promote peace.

By 1562, however, given the failure of the Colloquy of Poissy and the mounting hostilities between Catholics and Protestants, the tides had changed. Ronsard's strategy in the *Institution* is quickly discarded in favor of the progressively more invective *Discours.* In *Discours à la royne*, the poet beseeches Catherine to defeat the monster "Opinion" who represents the seditious Protestants, inviting the Queen Mother to imitate the shepherd who quells the warring bees, here described as soldiers: "Il verse parmi l'aer un peu de poudre: et lors / Retenant des deux camps les fureurs à son aise / Pour un peu de sablon tant de noises appaise" (Laum. 11:30, 206–08; Pl. 2: 996) ["He throws into the air a little powder, and then / [The shepherd], easily holding back the rage of the two camps, / Calms so many squabbles with a bit of sand"].[7] Here the Queen-as-shepherd pacifies the swarming Protestants-as-bees. In the *Discours*, as in the *Institution*, the scepter metonymically represents the royal entity:

6 David represents a model king for both Catholics and Protestants. See Vittoro de Caprariis, *Propaganda e pensiero politico in Francia durante le guerre di religione* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1959), 88.

7 Ménager has shown that images of throwing sand [in the eyes] recur throughout the *Discours à la Royne* and suggest the magical underpinning of her power (198–200). As Stephen Murphy points out, however, "there is also something charlatanesque about that power," "Ronsard, Polemic, and Palinode," *Medievalia* 22 (1999), 83.

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Donne (je te supply) que ceste Royne mere
Puisse de ces deux camps appaiser la colere:
Donne moy de rechef que son sceptre puissant
Soit maugré le discord en armes fleurissant
Donne que la fureur de ce Monstre barbare
Aille bien loing de France au rivaige Tartare …

LAUM. 11:31, 215–20; PL. 2: 996[8]

[Grant, I beg you, that this Queen Mother
Be able to quell the anger of the two camps;
Grant, moreover, that her powerful scepter
Flourish in arms despite the strife,
Grant that the rage of the barbarous monster
Flee far from France to the Tartar shore …]

Charles's peaceful scepter of the *Institution* has thus been replaced by Catherine's powerful one, now capable of squelching the uprisings by the Calvinist Other, "ce Monstre barbare" (which becomes in 1578 and subsequent editions "la guerre barbare"). In this context, the Queen Mother's metaphorical throwing of powder (*pouldre*) into the beehive appears particularly telling, since earlier that year the Duc de Guise had been the first prominent person in history to be murdered with a wheel-lock pistol, powered by ignited powder.[9] Although Ronsard stops short of calling for an armed massacre of the Protestants in the poem, he does conclude the *Discours à la Royne* by asking God to smite the mutineers by natural causes:

Donne que la poussiere entre dedans leurs yeux:
D'un esclat de tonnerre arme ta main aux Cieux,
Et pour punition eslance sur leur teste,
Et non sur un rocher, les traiz de la tempeste.

LAUM. 11:32, 233–36; PL. 2: 996

8 In his analysis of another passage in the *Discours*, Marcus Keller translates "Sceptre" as "authority" in the context of religion's power to "create unity among its faithful," "The Struggle for Cultural Memory in Ronsard's *Discours des misères de ce temps*," in *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France*, eds. David LaGuardia and Cathy Yandell (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 211.

9 Thomas F. Arnold, "Arms and Men: The Wheel-Lock Gun," *Military History Quarterly* 8, 1 (1995), 74–76.

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[Grant that dust enter their eyes.
In the Heavens, take as a weapon a crash of thunder,
And as punishment throw on their heads,
Not on the rock, the bolts of the storm.]

Given the realities of the civil war, then, Ronsard could no longer afford a peace-promoting rhetoric: a more forceful and authoritative image by necessity found its place in the *Discours*.[10] These brief examples demonstrate the poet's artful and calculated political sketches, by turn peaceful and violent, as he conforms to the political exigencies of the court.

While Ronsard's early *Discours* serve as an encomium to his royal patron and a tribute to her initially pacific designs, the Chancellor Michel de L'Hospital's speeches and edicts illustrate the power of language to create images, laws, and even beliefs. A caveat regarding the study of L'Hospital's language should, however, be evoked: as Robert Descimon has noted, since Michel de L'Hospital's speeches were not read but delivered improvisationally, one must be circumspect in making claims about the authenticity of the versions we read today. He rightly asserts that L'Hospital was not primarily a writer, nor were his addresses intended for the general public.[11] A further complication in the study of L'Hospital's rhetoric is that no definitive edition of his speeches, letters, and writings was published during his lifetime. Loris Petris postulates that L'Hospital chose not to publish his letters so that he would be free to change his mind, but given the delicate subjects at hand, the chancellor may also have wished to avoid the inevitable parsing and hair-splitting of his texts by opponents.[12] Despite these difficulties, I have found that certain linguistic patterns, images, and rhetorical structures can nonetheless be ascertained in L'Hospital's works, even in different versions of his discourses.

Political processes, for Michel de L'Hospital, emanate from language—for the jurist-humanist scholar, the *verba* quite literally bring about the *res*. As Ullrich Langer has observed, L'Hospital's position is often deliberative: his

10 Edwin Duval notes that "Ronsard got his history wrong" by asking Catherine to intervene, which only intensified the violence during the coming years. See "The Place of the Present: Ronsard, Aubigné, and the 'Misères de ce Temps,'" *Yale French Studies* 80 (1991), 23.

11 See Michel de L'Hospital, *Discours pour la majorité de Charles IX* [September 7, 1560, Fontainebleau], ed. Robert Descimon (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1993), 34.

12 Loris Petris, "Causas belli præcidere eloquio pietate. L'éloquence de Michel de L'Hospital dans ses discours de 1560 à 1562," in *De Michel de L'Hospital à l'Édit de Nantes. Politique et religion face aux Églises*, ed. Thierry Wanegffelen (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2002), 260.

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speeches, parenetic or hortatory, are meant to lead to action.[13] L'Hospital's vigorously held belief in drafting the early Edicts of the 1560s seemed to be that if the government decreed something (that is, if he the chancellor said it, with the King's imprimatur), then it would be so. He was, of course, quickly disabused of this idealistic view of the law, but he remained convinced of the capacity of language to effect change in both thoughts and actions. Hence in his first official speech to the Estates General in December of 1560, he admonishes his listeners: "Otons ces mots diaboliques, noms qui portent factions et séditions, *Luthériens, Huguenots, Papistes*, ne changeons le nom de *Chrestien*" ["Excise these diabolical words that usher in factions and seditions: Lutherans, Huguenots, Papists: let us not change the name Christian"].[14] In this linguistic vision, the problem derives fundamentally not from doctrine but from appellation: the diabolical words themselves produce division and sedition (the names are the actors in this sentence), whereas the word "Chrestien" serves to reunite.[15] This position against name-calling became inscribed into law four months later (April 19, 1561) in what might be France's first law against hate speech, forbidding the injurious words "huguenot" and "papistes," on pain of hanging, "sous peine de la hart."[16]

Another marshaling of particular words to L'Hospital's rhetorical (and by extension, moral) advantage in the same speech involves the chancellor's call for pity, first for the Protestants, and, more surprisingly, for the king. While he

13 Ullrich Langer, "La Rhétorique de la conciliation dans la *Congratulation sur la paix générale, faicte au mois de Mars 1598* … d'Etienne Pasquier," in *De Michel de l'Hospital à l'Edit de Nantes. Politique et religion face aux Eglises*, ed. Thierry Wanegffelen (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2002), 407–18. For his part, Marc Fumaroli defines "deliberative" discourses as political, as distinguished from purely judiciary or demonstrative. He classifies L'Hospital's speeches under the rubric of "la rhétorique des citations," *L'Age de l'éloquence* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 490–91.

14 Loris Petris, *La Plume et la tribune. Michel de L'Hospital et ses discours* (*1559–1562*). *Suivi de l'édition du* De initiatione Sermo (*1559*) *et des* Discours de Michel de L'Hospital (*1560–1562*) (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 403.

15 See also Michel de L'Hospital's opening speech at the Colloquy of Poissy: "Davantage, vous vous debvez comporter avec ceulx de la nouvelle religion doucement et gracieusement, ne les mettant au nombre de noz ennemis mais d'amis, estans baptizés du baptesme et au mesme nom de Jesus Christ" (423–24) ["Furthermore, you must conduct yourself kindly and graciously with those of the new religion, considering them not as our enemies but as friends, being baptized by the baptism (of John) and in the same name of Jesus Christ"].

16 Henri Ampoux, *Michel de L'Hospital et la liberté de conscience au XVI^e siècle* (1900) (Geneva: Slatkine, 1969), 175. See also Linda C. Taber, *Royal Policy and Religious Dissent within the Parlement of Paris 1559–1563* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1982), 147–59; Kim, *The Vision of a Reformist Chancellor*, 66.

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typically engages in neutral periphrasis to describe Protestants, such as "ceux qui veulent un establissement de religion" ["those who wish to establish a religion"] or "ceux de la nouvelle religion" ["those of the new religion"], he also employs pathos, describing them as unhappy, unknowing, or unfortunate, rather than malicious: "malcontents de la religion," "ignorants," "pauvres gens" ["discontents," "ignorant and poor people"].[17] Similarly, in order to gain the allegiance of the three estates, all of whom are less than jubilant about the young king's reign, Michel de L'Hospital invites the listeners' sympathy by painting a pitiful picture of the boy's plight:

> Reste à vous racompter du mesnage du roy, qui est en si *pauvre* et *piteux* estat, que je ne pourrois le vous dire, ne vous l'oyr sans *larmes* et *pleurs*. Car jamais pere, de quelque estat ou condition qu'il fut, ne laissa *orphelin* plus engagé, plus *endebté*, plus *empesché*, que nostre jeune prince est demeuré par la *mort* des rois ses pere et frere. Tous les *fraiz* et *despenses* de douze ou treize annees d'une *grande, longue et continuelle guerre* sont tombez sur luy.
>
> *LA PLUME ET LA TRIBUNE*, 405
>
> [The last thing that remains to be told is the administration of the king's household, which is in such a sad and pitiful state that I could not recount it, nor you hear it, without tears and weeping. For never has a father, in any state or condition whatsoever, left an orphan more "impledged" (Cotgrave[18]), more indebted, more hindered, than our young prince since the death of the kings his father and brother. All the charges and expenses of twelve or thirteen years of a great, long, and continual war have fallen upon him.]

The litany of words denoting the sad state of his affairs—"pauvre," "piteux," "larmes," "pleurs," "orphelin," "endebté," "empesché," "mort," and "guerre" [poor, pitious, tears, cries, orphan, endebted, prevented, death, and war]—invites compassion and thus calls upon the three Estates to do their share to rescue this beleagered boy-king.

In another rhetorical tour de force, L'Hospital demonstrates that occasionally, what is specifically *not* said equals or surpasses the value of what is said.

17 Gleaned from speeches on July 5, 1560; September 7, 1560; December 13, 1560; and July 31, 1561; cited by Loris, *La Plume et la tribune*, 258.

18 Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611).

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"La liberté" became a contentious term during the religious "troubles" of the sixteenth century, not unlike in the twenty-first century in the United States, where "freedom fries," "freedom of religion" in the *Hobby Lobby* case, and the "Freedom Group" of the gun industry evoke distinct and conflicting definitions of the term. In the 1560s, while Protestants demanded religious liberty, Michel de L'Hospital approached the problem from a different angle, at least linguistically. In what is now known as the Edict of January of 1562, the chancellor applies the word "liberté" not to the Protestants, as one might expect, but rather to the Catholics. Catholics will henceforth be free, the Edict states, to take full possession of their ecclesiastical and personal possessions without interference from reformers:

> Que tous ceulx de la nouvelle Religion ou autres qui se sont emparez de temples seront tenuz, incontinent aprés la publication de ces presentes, d'en vuyder et s'en departir, ensemble des maisons, biens et revenuz appartenans aux ecclesiasticques, en quelque lieu qu'ilz soient situez et assis; desquelz ilz leur delaisseront la plaine et entiere possession et joïssance, pour en joïr en telle liberté et seureté qu'ilz faisoient auparavant qu'ilz en eussent esté desaisiz.[19]
>
> [That all those of the New Religion or others who have taken over churches will be required, immediately after the publication of the present document, to vacate and leave all houses, possessions and funds belonging to clergy, wherever they are situated; they will restore to them full possession and usufruct of their belongings in such freedom and security as they had before the property was seized.]

Meanwhile, the Protestants are nowhere granted the freedom of opinion or belief, but rather the simple practice of meeting outside city limits, in which no one is to disturb them—but the word "liberté" does not appear.[20] In

19 Édit de janvier, 1562, Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Archives nationales, X1A 8624, fol. 225 r°-228 v°, registre B Archives nationales, X1A 8624, 225 r-228v, registre B, http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/editsdepacification/edit_01.

20 "… lorsque ceulx de lad. Religion nouvelle yront, viendront et s'assembleront hors desd. villes pour le faict de leurd. Religion, ilz (tous juges, Magistratz et autres personnes) n'aient à les y empescher, inquieter, molester ne leur courir sus en quelque sorte ou maniere que ce soit" (Édit de janvier, 1562, http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/editsdepacification/edit_01) ["when those of the said new religion go, come, and assemble outside the said towns for [the practice of] their said religion, (all judges, magistrates, and others) will not hinder, disturb, trouble or overrun them in any manner whatsoever"]. For an excellent

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L'Hospital's framing, through a judicious use of the word "liberté," the rhetorical deck is stacked in favor of the Catholics who, not coincidentally, dominate the Parlement and whose ratification will be necessary for the Edict's passage.

Beyond his dexterous usage of particular words, Michel de L'Hospital fully exploits the figure of the metaphor, both extended and mixed. Metaphors depicting the kingdom as diseased body are so extended in his speeches that they might be termed "prolonged"; even a contemporary scribe designates one such excursus as "une longue digression."[21] In his speech of June 18, 1561, to the Parlement, the chancellor notes that sometimes the symptoms (the Aristotelian "accidens") are worse than the sickness; just as an ailing person can die from the fever rather than from the illness, so the effects of the new religion are more dangerous than the religion itself. In a final iteration of this prolonged metaphor, L'Hospital adds that if part of the body is infected, it must be excised: "Car si nous sommes tous comme un corps, duquel le roy est le chef: il est beaucoup meilleur coupper le membre pourri, que permettre qu'il gaste et corrompe les autres et leur face souffrir mort. S'il y avoit un homme pestiferé, ou infect de lepre, vous le chasseriez de vostre ville: Il y a plus grand'raison de chasser les seditieux" (*La Plume et la tribune*, 404) ["For if we are all as a body, whose king is the head, it is much better to cut off the putrified member, than to permit it to spoil and corrupt the others and make them die. If there were a man with the plague or leprosy, you would expel him from your town. There is even greater reason to drive away the seditious rebels"].[22] Note that it is not those practitioners of the new religion who should be expunged, but rather rebels against the state (*La Plume et la tribune*, 403). Thus, within this metaphor, linguistic divisions again invite specific attitudes toward the civil conflict: he argues for drawing the important distinction between "religieux" and "seditieux," between religious and political rebellion. In insisting on the nation-as-sick-body, L'Hospital enjoins all of its citizens-as-body-parts to participate in its healing, which can be realized only through the leadership of the king-as-physician.

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analysis of the 1562 *Édit de janvier*, see Denis Crouzet, "A Law of History in the History of Difference: The First Edict of 'Tolerance,'" in *Religious Differences in France, Past and Present*, ed. Kathleen Perry Long (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2006), 1–18.

21 "Monsieur le chancellier remonstra l'estat des affaires par une longue digression et comparaison du medecin et du malade, et qu'il estoit facile au medecin de guerir la maladie, pourvue qu'il sceut la cause d'icelle" (*La Plume et la tribune,* 369) ["The chancellor rebuked the state of affairs in a long digression and a comparison of the doctor and the sick man, (saying) that it was easy for the doctor to cure the illness, provided he knew the cause of it"].

22 Cf. Matt. 18:9.

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The chancellor employs a more striking visual image of the king to promote peace in his speech to the Estates General. Constructing a cross-cultural analogy, he calls upon his fellow countrymen to avoid armed conflict under all circumstances, since conciliatory justice is more befitting a French king than war, which is waged by tyrants. L'Hospital submits that should it provoke a war, France would contradict the peaceful symbolism that has dominated in French royal seals, in contradistinction to those of other countries' rulers (*La Plume et la tribune*, 386–87). Several royal seals from the period corroborate the chancellor's claim: Philippe II Auguste, Louis X, and François I^{er} by Cellini appear serenely seated on their thrones, while Richard III of England and Phillip II of Spain, armed and on horseback, are represented as warriors.[23] Ellen Spolsky has argued that sixteenth-century Protestants' iconoclasm limited their reception of sensory, visual knowledge.[24] If this is so, then L'Hospital's astute use of visual symbolism, in contrast, may be seen as addressing specifically Catholic sensibilities in order to assuage the royals' combative tendencies.

Another stylistic device employed by L'Hospital to promote his agenda of reconciliation is the mixed metaphor, which in the chancellor's rhetorical universe functions well beyond its literary effect. In a speech to the Parlement in July of 1560, L'Hospital begins with the image of weeds: if too many of them grow, it is best to leave them lest the wheat be destroyed as well. This metaphor then morphs into the reminder that the king is like a good doctor who understands the illness of his patient. Similarly, in his speech to the Estates General of 1560, L'Hospital evokes in poetic language an image of the king, anointed by God, dispersing the clouds like a brilliant sun: "Et comme nous voyons à un jour obscur et plein de nuées et brouillards que le soleil à sa venue rompt et dissipe la nuée, et rend le temps clair et serein, ainsi le visage de nostre jeune roy a percé jusques au fond des cueurs des princes du sang …" (*La Plume et la tribune*, 384) ["As we see on a dark, cloudy, and foggy day that the sun's arrival breaks and dissipates the clouds, making the weather clear and serene, so the face of our young king penetrated to the bottom of the blood princes' hearts …"]. This vision is then superseded by the image of

23 To view images of these seals, see http://www.historicseals.net/sealinfo.php?slID=530 (Philippe II Auguste), http://www.historicseals.net/sealinfo.php?slID=547 (Louis X), http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/gold-seal-made-by-benvenuto-cellini-for-francis-i-of-france-news-photo/188005924 (François I^{er}), http://www.historicseals.net/sealinfo.php?slID=706 (Richard III of England), and https://s-media-cache-ako.pinimg.com/originals/45/ff/19/45ff190071bec52ef6c552e9c9126d86.jpg (Phillip II of Spain).

24 Ellen Spolsky, *Satisfying Skepticism*: *Embodied Knowledge in the Early Modern World* (Farnham: Ashgate 2001), 136–53.

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a home/kingdom in which brothers/subjects are united, obeying their father (which is a conceptual stretch, since Charles is only 11 years old)—but once again, the metaphor serves to crystallize opinion rather than to reflect reality. Michel de L'Hospital's mixed and extended metaphors, much like his politics, reveal a capacious vision—not so much a vision of tolerance, as it has often been characterized, as of plurality, as the recurring term "diversité d'opinions" in his speeches further makes manifest.[25]

These sixteenth-century approaches to peace-seeking as glimpsed in the rhetoric of Ronsard and Michel de L'Hospital inevitably raise questions about peacemaking in ongoing twenty-first–century global conflicts. In the end, as these texts have suggested, peace is not simply the avoidance of struggle, or a truce, or even a cessation of violence. Sustained peace, rather, becomes less about absence than about presence—thus, the rare joint Protestant/Catholic murals that have recently been painted in Belfast, the reconciliation courts in Rwanda, the reconstituted City Council in Ferguson, and the YTheater troupe in Jerusalem with both Palestinian and Jewish actors all illustrate the promise of ensuring that contending factions remain at the table.[26]

In distinct ways, Ronsard and Michel de L'Hospital each rhetorically promoted a peaceful resolution to the conflicts of the French civil wars, at least at the beginning of the violent outbreaks. In the end, Ronsard's irenic rhetoric gave way to the pugnacious positions of the crown, whereas Michel de L'Hospital continued to propose strategies for conciliation, first seeking to

25 E.g., "Que le roy treschrestien vexé et travaillé de *la diversité d'opinions* en nostre religion …" (*La Plume et la tribune*, 45) ["That the very Christian King (who was) vexed and worried about the diversity of opinions concerning our religion …]; "… son peuple, qui a esté miserablement divisé par *la diversité des opinions*" (427) ["his people, who were miserably divided by diversity of opinion"]; "Et, d'autant que *la diversité des opinions* estoit le principal fondement des troubles et seditions …" (427) ["And all the more so because the diversity of opinions was the principal cause of the turmoil and seditions"]; "… il estoit de grand merveille que l'on tumbast en *diversité d'opinions*" (426) ["he was surprised that we fell into such diversity of opinions]; "[L'universelle justice] … est subjecte à *diversité d'opinions*," ["Universal justice is subject to diverse opinions"], Michel de L'Hospital, *Œuvres inédites* (Paris: Auguste Boulland, 1825), 1:60 (emphasis added).

26 On these peace-promoting initiatives, see "Murals of Conflict, Patterns of Peace," http://thetroubles.omeka.net/collections/show/1; Phil Clark, *The Gacaca Courts, Post-Genocide Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda without Lawyers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Moni Basu, "Ferguson election makes history, adds more blacks to City Council," *CNN*, http://www.cnn.com/2015/04/08/us/ferguson-election/; and "YTheater Project Jerusalem," https://ytheater.org/.

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keep Catholics and Protestants in dialogue, albeit a contentious one—and, failing that, to extend rights and demand compromises from both sides. Unfortunately, the vying powers of the French kingdom refused his mediatory approach, and Michel de L'Hospital died in 1573, only a few months after the disastrous St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, which signaled the complete failure of his vision.[27] Many of the principles he promoted were incorporated in the Edict of Nantes, twenty-five years too late to prevent the intervening bloodshed. It would be anachronistic to assign to Michel de L'Hospital the title of "liberator of conscience," as was claimed by his hagiographers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[28] But insofar as the past contains exhortations for the future, Michel de L'Hospital's invitation not to bury the confrontation but rather to address it in all its contradictions stands as a political model on the threshold of modernity.

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27 Denis Crouzet identifies Michel de L'Hospital as a symbol of history's continual work of legitimation or delegitimation of the present by the past. *La Sagesse et le malheur. Michel de L'Hospital, chancelier de France*, (Paris: Champ Vallon, 1998), 9. Ronsard's commentaries on the conflict also virtually ceased after that massacre. Notable exceptions are *Les Elemens ennemis de l'hydre*, probably written in 1569 but published in 1578 (Laum. 17:408–11; Pl. 2:1078–1080), and *Prognostiques sur les miseres de nostre temps* of 1584 (Laum. 18:165–68; Pl. 2:1039–41).

28 See especially Ampoux, *Michel de L'Hospital*, wherein L'Hospital is depicted as a champion of freedom of conscience and of religion, and Louis Bandy de Nalèche, *Poésies complètes du chancelier Michel de L'Hospital. Première Traduction annotée, suivie d'une table analytique et précédée d'un nouvel essai sur l'esprit de L'Hospital* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1857).

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CHAPTER 12

Bearding the Pope, circa 1562

Jeff Persels

> A particularly important key in the analysis of the social meaning of hair is the point of tension—the moment when we see shifts or clashes of contemporary understanding.
>
> ROBERT BARTLETT[1]

• • •

> Je sauve ma barbe, & laisse mon Evêché.
>
> GUILLAUME DUPRAT (ATTR.)[2]

⁘

Whatever the true origins and symbolism of tonsure and shaving as external signs of internal vocation among Roman Catholic clerics and monastics—and they have never been unequivocally determined—the legitimacy of the long-standing practices came under satirical fire as never before or since at the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion.[3] The anonymous *Rasoir des rasez. Recueil,*

1 Robert Bartlett. "Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., vol. 4 (1994), 58.

2 Qtd in Jacques-Antoine Dulaure. *Pogonologie, ou Histoire philosophique de la barbe* (Paris: Lejay, 1786), 157. I thank Elizabeth Hodges for bringing to my attention this fascinating compendium of European beard lore, which catalogues in narrative format a variety of obscure French and Latin works.

3 "It would be difficult to pinpoint the exact origin of tonsure," surmised the Abbé Bergier already in the late eighteenth century, at the opening of his entry on the topic in the *Dictionnaire de théologie* (Besançon: Outhenin Chalandre fils, 1848), 6:327–29. Extended subsequent efforts, such as Philippe Gobillot's now-classic, "Sur la tonsure chrétienne et ses prétendues origines païennes," *Revue d'histoire écclesiastique* 21 (1925), 399–454, as well as Louis Trichet's recent definitive reassessment of same, *La Tonsure. Vie et mort d'une pratique ecclésiastique* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1990), arrive at similar conclusions all the while usefully augmenting and collating the historical record with regard to both references and variant interpretations. See also Edward James, "Bede and the Tonsure Question," *Peritia* 3 (1984), 85–98.

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auquel est traité amplement de la tonsure & rasure du Pape, & de ses Papelards, published in 1562, very possibly in Lyon during the "Huguenot Spring" before the Peace of Amboise, survives as the most fully developed example of this rhetorical and doctrinal attack, collating as it does a number of previous works and connecting them to related Calvinist polemical tropes.[4] From an ostensibly frivolous point of departure and contention—that the requisite tonsured head and shaven chin of the priest were so many signs of the Pope's abuse of authority and the Church's decadence—the author develops 55 pages of anti-Catholic diatribe bent on bringing down the papacy itself, a fall prophesied in its closing reprint of a few previously circulating pasquinades, including a *Deploration des cardinaux et evesques, et de toute leur compagnie, pour leur mere la Messe*.[5]

The figure itself would have long been familiar to a French-speaking public. Like most colorful French Reform-era images, it had early been exploited by German Lutheran polemicists, whose models were no doubt influential.[6] Certainly, tonsure—that is, the artificial maintenance of a bald circle on the top of the head, delineated by a "crown "of hair below—was the most common and immediately recognizable "mark" that distinguished cleric from layman: "La rasure sur la teste / C'est la marque de la beste" (56) ["The shaved head is the mark of the beast"], to cite just the first of the miscellaneous satirical doggerel appended to the *Rasoir*.[7] Lutheran anti-Catholic woodcuts of the 1520s are careful to exaggerate it, whereas they more often than not depict the layman with abundant hair, heads covered, and/or beards. As Louis Trichet, author of the most recent of the scarce histories of tonsure, has noted, confusion over what exactly constitutes tonsure and over its frequent association with

4 *Le Rasoir des rasez. Recueil, auquel est traité amplement de la tonsure & rasure du Pape, & de ses Papelards* [France: n.p.], 1562. The particular copy (Gordon 1562 .R34) consulted for this essay is part of the Douglas H. Gordon Collection of French Books in the University of Virginia Special Collections.

5 The *Deploration* itself was composed at least as early as the preceding year, probably much earlier. It appears in 1561, according to Henri-Léonard Bordier, in a collection of anti-papist polemical verse *Complainte & chanson de la grande Paillarde Babylonienne de France sur le chant de Pienne; plus une Deploration des Cardinaux, Evesques & toute leur compagnie pour leur mère la Messe; Avec l'accord fait à Poissy sur le poinct de la Cène,* [N.p.: n.p.], 1561. See Bordier, *Le Chansonnier huguenot du XVI^e siècle* [1870–71] (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 453–54.

6 On German broadsheets from the Lutheran Reform, both pro and con, see Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). Also, Peter Matheson, *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998).

7 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

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an accompanying beard was common, to the point that he opens his study by grouping them both under the broader concept of "la chevelure masculine" (1) ["masculine (head of) hair"]. The symbolic grooming of both for religious purposes makes them all but inseparable. In Catholic ecclesiastical tradition, the shaven crown was thus early on inextricably bound to the smooth chin, an association consonant with the *Rasoir*'s subtitle, "la tonsure *& rasure* du Pape" ["the Pope's tonsure *and shaving*"] (emphasis added), and, as we shall see, with its source texts.

As in the couplet just cited—"La rasure sur la teste / C'est la marque de la beste"—Calvinist writers exploited this association in a number of polemical works from the start, embroidering on a conveniently common medieval anti-clerical refrain. Instances of "teste rase" ["shaven head"] and "moine tondu" ["shorn monk"] abound in the Calvinist *chansonniers* of the 1540s and 1550s.[8] A 1542 "Prophétie des abus des prestres, moines et rasez," for example, lumps together the Catholic hierarchy as so many "gras tondus" ["shorn fatsoes"] or perhaps even, *mutatis mutandis*, "fat skinheads," a rich coupling of epithets to which I will return. The "Prophétie" is particularly germane to discussion of the *Rasoir*, as it demonstrates how characteristic (and charismatic) of popular Calvinist anti-Papist debate were its theme, argument, and rhetorical flourish by the 1540s. The *Rasoir* could fruitfully be read as a learned elaboration of this "Prophétie" and is itself representative of the more sustained vernacular polemic, both Calvinist and Catholic, as it grew more intransigent in France and Geneva in the early 1560s. The "Prophétie" exploits the ineluctable force (as well as the rhythm and rhyme) of the future tense, e.g., "Vostre autel est ruiné …/ Il tombera," "Dieu à la fin vous punira" (Bordier, 168) ["Your alter is in ruins …/ It will fall," "In the end God will punish you"], to announce the imminent exposure and downfall of the Catholic Church. Characterized as "pharisien" and "sorbonique," fond of refuting heresy by resorting to scholastic or "*ergo*-listic" sophistry, or, worse, to violent repression, the Church of the Gospel-hating "gras tondus" must necessarily fall under the bald weight of its own error, too far and too long removed from the evangelical teachings

8 Nineteenth-century anthologies, e.g. Bordier, Montaiglon, Tarbé, still provide the most accessible if necessarily selective source for these *chants* and *chansons*, although digitized versions of their sixteenth-century source compilations are increasingly available online via such databases as Gallica, E-Rara, HathiTrust, and Google Books. A modern, comprehensive compilation would be a most useful, not to say diverting, tool for students of the Calvinist Reform. See Anatole de Montaiglon, *Recueil de poésies françoises des XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles* (Paris: P. Jannet, 1855); Prosper Tarbé, *Recueil de poésies calvinistes* (*1550–1566*), 2nd ed. (Reims: P. DuBois et Cie, 1866). Also, Jacques Pineaux, *La Poésie des protestants de langue française: Du Premier Synode national jusqu'à la proclamation de l'édit de Nantes* (*1559–1598*). Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.

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of the primitive Church. It is precisely this skeleton scenario that the *Rasoir* fleshes out for a more learned audience, one more likely to be challenged or confirmed in its beliefs, or merely diverted, by a more fully articulated rhetorical argument.

The *Rasoir*'s first-person narrator is astonished to find that among the "enormous" abuses of the "Eglise Papistique," ecclesiastical tonsure has yet to receive the close criticism it deserves, all the more so as those who sport it have persuaded "us" that "ils estoyent les Dieux, les Sages, & les Roys de la terre, au grand deshonneur de l'Eternel & a nostre confusion" (3) ["they were the Gods, the Wise Men and the Kings of the earth, much to the dishonor of the Eternal and to our confusion"]. He undertakes to fill this lacuna and to refute this claim, building what he deems to be a formidable and persuasive rebuttal, in typical humanist fashion, by exhaustive enumeration of examples collected from "diverses histoires"—biblical, classical, patristic, contemporary—all scrupulously annotated in the margins (e.g., *Alex. ab Alex. lib.1.c.26*). Or almost all, as one, in reality *the* major intertext, goes conspicuously uncredited: a *Pro sacerdotum barbis apologia* by the Veneto-born tutor to the Medici Giovanni Pierio Valeriano Bolzani (1477–1558), which was first published in Rome in 1531, then a number of times in Paris, including in 1558, just four years prior to the publication of the *Rasoir*. The author of the latter lifts not only numerous *exempla* from Valeriano but the very framework of his argument, handily repurposing it, as it were, both realizing and distorting the polemical potential of an essentially orthodox, albeit critical philological exercise.[9]

9 Historians have tended to treat the *Apologia* with more solemnity than perhaps it deserves, to the detriment of its playful qualities e.g. Giles Constable: "Valerian's treatise on the beards of priests was the first of several works written in the early sixteenth century in favor of clerical beards, which Pope Clement VII threatened with shaving. It was a serious work, although polemical in nature, and argued with justice that several of the standard canonical texts concerned with clerical beards had been altered in favor of clerical shaving." "Beards in History," introduction to Burchard of Bellevaux, *Apologia de barbis*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), 50–51. An indisputably learned defense connected to an actual *fait divers*, its overwrought tone and fanciful wordplay (see example in the next paragraph) make it difficult to take it completely at face value. Valeriano was, moreover, in good company. Beards, and whether to shave or not shave them ("vel radenda, vel alenda barba"), similarly provided young humanist Gentien Hervet with fodder for a trio of inconsequential Latin orations, proof of his mastery of language and form, addressed to and published in the city of Orléans in 1536. *Gentiani Herveti Aurelii Orationes* (Orléans: François Gueiard). Best known for his later French translation and transmission of the acts of the Council of Trent, which he attended, Hervet also subsequently turned into a prolific anti-huguenot polemicist. (The publisher of this early work, Gueiard, was murdered in Orléans in 1572, victim of the St. Bartholomew's Day violence rippling outward from Paris).

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Addressed to his former pupil, the short-lived Ippolito de' Medici (1511–1535), who was made cardinal by his uncle Clement VII shortly before its publication, Valeriano's *apologia* is true to its title. As Jean-Marie Le Gall has recently skillfully demonstrated, Valeriano claims to review and rectify the historical (primarily church conciliar) record to prove that the tonsure and clean-shaven chins of contemporary clerical practice were not, and thus should not be, the norm.[10] To this end, he argues at length for a corrected reading of the conclusions of the Council of Carthage in 419, to wit, that *Clerici neque comam nutriant, neque barbam* ["Clerics shall not let their hair grow, nor their beard"] is the fault of a latter-day scribal error which "shaved off" (*abrasa*) the verb *radant* at the end of the decree, which should properly read: "Clerics shall not let their hair grow nor *shave* their beard" (44, emphasis mine).[11] It is worth recalling that Clement VII, as famously attested by a Sebastian del Piombo portrait contemporaneous with the publication of the *Apologia*, wore a beard, allegedly grown in penitential response to the calamitous 1527 sack of Rome. Second in an early modern spate of bearded popes, he is referenced, together with Julius II (reigned 1503–13), by both Valeriano and the *Rasoir*.[12] Valeriano goes so far as to allude to what must be Raphael's official portrait of Julius, painted circa 1511: *Barbata Iulii tabula in æde populari dicata est* (81) ["The bearded portrait of Julius has been dedicated in the temple of the people (i.e., is on public display)"]. Moreover, as Kenneth Gouwens has pointed out:

> the *Pro sacerdotum barbis* locates the cause of Rome's sufferings in the 'feminine' delicacies of the Roman clergy, which had provoked the wrath of God and threatened to do so again. [...] The wearing of beards, then, signifies the effort to reform the 'effeminacy' into which the clergy had slipped. But should reform not follow, and should Rome slide back into corruption, then God will become ever so much angrier, withdrawing His

10 Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Un Idéal masculin? Barbes et moustaches* (*XV^e–XVII^e siècles*) (Paris: Payot, 2011), 125–32. Le Gall surveys and contextualizes a broad spectrum of the notably prolific *pro* and *contra* beard literature put to the service of varying polemics in the sixteenth century.

11 All page references are to a later reprint. Pierio Valeriano Bolzani, *Pro sacerdotum barbis apologia* (Lyon: Guillume Christian, 1639), 44, emphasis added.

12 Dulaure's *Pogonologie*, the longest chapter of which is devoted to "Barbes des prêtres" ["Priests' Beards"] (108–174), claims that "Jules II donna le signal; toute l'Europe l'imita: ce Pape, par son air vénérable, rappeloit l'image des anciens Patriarches" (137) ["Julius II started the trend; all of Europe imitated him. This pope, with his venerable mien, brought back the look of the ancient patriarchs"].

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> grace from the clergy, so that the rage of the entire world will turn against them.[13]

Such philippic and jeremiad qualities of Valeriano's learned apologia lend themselves particularly readily to Protestant co-option, as does the structure of its four-pronged defense, grounded in historical and legal precedent, that is, the "law of nature" ("Naturae lex," 25), complemented by three other sets of "written laws" ("Lex scripta triplex," 25): the law of Moses (Old Testament), the law of Christ (New Testament), and canon law ("Tertia Pontificum, conciliorumque sanctione decreta," 26). This is precisely the order, fashion, and wording in which the author of the *Rasoir* will frame his case, marshaling many of the same examples in support but also his own, the bulk of them coming in both the neo-Latin model and its French imitation from the now-obscure but then quite popular neo-Latin miscellany, the *Dies geniales*, first published in Rome by Neapolitan lawyer Alessandro Alessandri in 1522 but soon followed by Parisian editions throughout the sixteenth century.[14]

Out of such sources the *Rasoir* deftly, if somewhat crudely, constructs a critique of the material and political ambitions of the popes over time—the real impetus for his harangue—and exploits a variety of traditional interpretations of the meaning of tonsure. What, he claims, is most often taken as a remembrance of the Crown of Thorns has been corrupted—"souz diverses ruses, dissimulations, & mesme souz fausses interpretations (5) ["via diverse ruses, dissimulations and even false readings"—into an earthly crown, an emblem of temporal power and its misappropriation. In the fanciful version of our narrator, the practice was the brainchild of an early but unspecified idle pope who, wishing to oblige all to kiss his slipper, "voyant que ses clefs, qu'il dit estre de Sainct Pierre, n'estoyent assez puissantes, il s'est fort bien, & destrement servy de l'Espee de sainct Paul" (6) ["seeing that his keys, which he claimed came from Saint Peter, were not powerful enough, he well and skillfully resorted to the blade of Saint Paul"]. From which adroit swordplay were born ecclesiastical tonsure and shaving:

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13 Kenneth Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 151.

14 Based in part on similarly copious borrowing from Alessandri's *Dies geniales*, there is reason to believe that the *Rasoir* author is also responsible for an anonymous *Sommaire Recueil des signes sacrez, sacrifices, et sacremens instituez de Dieu depuis la creation du monde*, published in Lyon, most likely at the behest of noted Protestant printer and bookseller Jean Saugrain, to judge from typographical evidence, in 1561. Both works also cite the same biblical passages.

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> Le clerc ne nourrira cheveux, ni barbe: ains portera tonsure, & couronne decente les aureilles patentes, & barbe rase. Et s'il y a quelcun, qui face le contraire soit anatheme: & soit voire contre sa volonté tondu, & rasé par son Archidiacre. (6)
>
> [Clerics shall not let their hair grow nor their beard but will be tonsured, leaving a seemly crown and ears exposed, and clean-shaven. And if there is anyone among them who does the contrary, may he be anathema and even against his will tonsured and shaven by his Archdeacon.]

Said rule is helpfully documented by means of copious marginal notes in Latin referring to specific canon laws. Further papal justification is offered in the form of a survey of classical, non-Christian peoples who either did or did not practice some form of tonsure, and for whatever reasons, however remotely distant from those behind ecclesiastical tonsure. Roughly summarized (and the equation is the narrator's): "barbu" ["bearded"] equals "barbare" ["barbarian"].[15] Finally, "à fin que l'on n'eust opinion que le Pape ne fust bien versé en l'Escriture" (9) ["so that none think the Pope not versed in scripture"], Paul's stricture from 1 Corinthians (11:4) is trotted out: "Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him?"[16]

After this brief account of the origins, institution, and initial justification for tonsure and shaving, the *Rasoir* narrator seeks, with considerable derision, to refute papal interpretation—rather farfetched, in his estimation—of its varied symbolic meanings: that shaving is a sign of grief and humility; that it denotes the renunciation of worldly goods and cares; that it indicates freedom and nobility. Though not in so many words, the narrator concludes that the habit—or, in this case, the tonsure—does not make the monk, that is, current

15 This facile association was not uncommon; witness Gentien Hervet's affected lapsus early in his 1536 *De radenda barba oratio*, concerning which see note 9: "barbari, ah quid dixi barbari? Semper hic erro, barbati dicere volui, …" (16) ["the barbarians, ah! why did I say barbarians? I always make a mistake here, I meant to say bearded …"].

16 Artus Désiré, quick-drawing Catholic respondent to such provocation as the *Rasoir*, argues along similar lines in his dialogic *Combatz du fidelle papiste pelerin rommain* (Rouen: Du Gort, 1550). Conceding a point to his allegorized Protestant adversary, L'Antipapiste, about the waywardness of many contemporary priests, Désiré censures in particular those who have, counter to Church doctrine and practice, let their beards grow. His main point of contention seems, however, to be hygienic and even aesthetic: "Dequoy leur sert elle a la face / Sinon a nourrir la vermine? / La chair si tresfort ronge & mine / Qu'incontinent rend l'homme vieux" (72) ["What's the point of a beard on a face, if not to nourish vermin? The flesh is badly gnawed and eaten away, making a man look old"].

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ecclesiastical (mis)behavior would not seem to support the pope's theories. The full force of the *Rasoir*'s rhetorical persuasion, however, is reserved for the second half, which follows closely when not outright paraphrasing or translating, as noted above, Valeriano's argument. Here, the implied authority of each part is in inverse proportion to the space it takes to enunciate it. It is not sufficient that the first part (14 pages), devoted to the *Loy de nature*, provides overwhelming evidence against the abusive practice of tonsure and shaving. Most of these examples, as we would expect, are from Classical experience, therefore pagan, therefore ultimately of only relative importance, but there are also examples from contemporary popular wisdom. These examples focus more on the unnatural, in this instance, primarily unmanly or effeminate conduct a clean-shaven face implies. On this the *Rasoir* narrator is categorical:

> Pour le regard de nature, cheveux, & barbes sont naturellement donnez pour servir premierement pour valetude, & santé du corps: & secondement pour estre non seulement indices des vertus de l'esprit, & forces du corps: mais aussi pour d'icelles vertus, & forces estre les premiers, & plus propres habitacles, voire les plus excellens ornemens, & spectables dignitez que l'homme sauroit avoir. (27–28)
>
> [From Nature's perspective, hair and beards first serve to preserve the health and wellness of the body; second, to be not only signs of the spirit's virtues and the body's strengths, but also the first and most appropriate abode for them, or even the most excellent ornament and visible honors that man can have.]

He appeals to medical thought on the implications of hair and its loss with regard to the theory of the humors and evokes the medieval metaphor of man as an upside-down tree: to shave his head and chin would be to cut off his roots, depriving him not only of "sapience" ["knowledge"] but also of "santé d'esprit, & de corps" (29) ["spiritual and bodily health"].[17] According to common belief, beards testify to the authority of the individual male: "les barbes acquierent authorité de leur magnitude, grossitude, & beauté" (30) ["beards grant authority based on their size, thickness and beauty"], as do abundant locks, as attested by the hairstyles of numerous classical heroes, especially that manliest of peoples, the Spartans. Even the Romans are forced to observe that

17 See the *locus classicus*, second-century physician and medical writer Galen's *De usu partium corporis humani*, 11.154–62, which similarly discusses the "uses" of hair in gender-specific, partisan terms.

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"homme chevelu, & pileus" ["a hairy man"] is an "homme nerveux, vigoureux, & fort" (34) ["sinewy, vigorous and strong man"]. Were not the first men, in the state of Nature, bewhiskered? Is not even a woman's virtue assessed from the state of her hair? Do not the very stars appear to be hairy, and the comets wear beards? Have beards not always implied possession of all the manly virtues: "les Roys François ont tous tousiours estimé, que porter longues barbes estoit porter les naturelles enseignes de Royale Nobelesse" (37) ["all the French kings have always believed that to wear a long beard was to bear the natural mark of royal nobility"]. They are, moreover and most importantly, the distinguishing feature of the male sex. Here again, as is so many instances, the *Rasoir* shadows closely Valeriano's apologia, e.g.:

> Diogenes disoit, que quand il voyoit sa barbe, il se souvenoit, qu'il estoit homme, c'est à dire, constant, & robuste: non femme, c'est à dire fragile, & delicat. (37–38)
>
> [Diogenes used to say that whenever he saw his beard, he remembered that the was a man, that is, steadfast and robust: not a woman, that is, fragile and delicate.]
>
> meritoque Diogenes, qui abrasos omnes insectabatur, barbato nescio cui respondit, Barbam se ideo gestare, ut se virum esse subinde recordaretur.
>
> VALERIANO, 15

Even Adam, whose example provides a convenient segue from pagan into Judeo-Christian tradition, "etoit un homme, un homme ie-dy, avec le poil" (41) ["was a man, a man, I say, with a beard"].

The considerably briefer second part calls on the more authoritative—yet still not ultimately so—Written Law, the "Loy Mosayque" (two pages), prefiguring, as we might expect, the fulfillment and infallible authority of Christ's word. It consists roughly of a paraphrase of restrictions regarding shaving in Leviticus, Judges, 1 Chronicles, 1 Samuel, and the Psalms, and concludes, once again, with an appropriate rhetorical transition, as in Valeriano, with John the Baptist, whose face and head, so we read, were never touched by a razor.[18]

18 Lev. 19:27, "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard"; and 21:5: "They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard, nor make any cuttings in their flesh"; 1 Chron. 19:4–5 and 2 Sam. 10:4–5 on the shame of David's servants shaved by Hanun; Ps. 133 on

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Finally comes the third and irrefutable point, the Christian "Loy de Grace" (one paragraph), which artfully brings together and harmonizes all three points or "laws" and is worth citing in full:

> La loy de Grace n'enseigne point, que Iesus Christ ayt ordonné, que ceux, qui se seroyent appelés à dispenser le ministere de sa parole, & de ses sacremens seroyent tondus, rasez: & semble bien que par son exemple, & de ses apostres, que les siens, vrayement siens ne derompent tant beaux, & tant spectables ornemens de nature: ains ont quelque egard à la loy escrite, encores qu'elle soit de la ceremonie. Et que Iesus Christ, & ses apostres ayent esté chevelus, & barbus. L'espistre de Pilate aux Romains, La veronique, les suaires, les statues, & images es temples mesme des Papelards en font suffisante preuve. (43)
>
> [The law of Grace does not teach that Jesus Christ commanded those who would be called to dispense the ministry of his word and of his sacraments be tonsured and shaven. It seems that by his example and that of his apostles, that those who are his, and truly his, do not destroy such beautiful and goodly ornaments of nature. Thus do they keep some regard for the Written Law, even though it be a formality. And that Jesus Christ and his apostles wore long hair and beards, the epistle of Pilate to the Romans, the veil of Veronica, the shrouds, the statues and the images even in the temples of the Papal dissemblers offer sufficient proof.]

Christ had long hair and a beard "for us" (3), so contends our narrator from the outset. It follows that one can find no strictures against such hirsuteness in the Gospels. On the contrary, this silence, coupled with Christ's own example and that of his bearded disciples—for which our Calvinist narrator cites some suspiciously latter-day and/or apocryphal sources—is apparently meant to serve as a resoundingly convincing conclusion to the *Rasoir*'s main argument. It is an all the more effective strategy here in that it efficiently exploits the relatively minor but highly visible and divisive "abuse" of tonsure to chide the papists for their principal error: "effeminate" straying from the "virile" purity of the Gospel teachings.[19] Such polar, although rarely so gendered rhetorical design

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Aaron's beard; Judg. 13:5 on strictures regarding Samson's hair; Num. 6:4 on the Lord's words to Moses.

19 Le Gall, *Un Idéal masculin?*, similarly characterizes the *Rasoir*'s polemical thrust—"l'auteur mobilise une hantise masculine" (149) ["the author exploits a masculine obsessive fear"]—and gives it credit as "une recuperation posthume de Valeriano par la

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is, of course, common to the vernacular works of evangelical, Lutheran, and Calvinist critics of the sixteenth century. It facilitates both the polemicist's job and (he hopes) the reception of his argument through the simple associations he makes, through his dexterous exploitation of the basic appeal of broad generalizations: Catholic Church, hairless, effeminate, bad vs. Reformed Church, hairy, masculine, good.

As it happens, the *Rasoir*'s simplistic analogy, fueled by (mis)appropriation of the form and content of Valeriano's reform-minded but wholly orthodox *Pro sacerdotum barbis*, coincided with a related shift in contemporary understanding examined a couple of decades ago by Elliott Horowitz.[20] In a suggestive study "explor[ing] the implicit meaning of the beard for Europeans and Amerindians of the sixteenth century" (1185), Horowitz cites "a venerable tradition in Western thought, especially strong in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages and revived during the sixteenth century, that linked the beard with masculinity and the practice of shaving, consequently, with its negation" (1183), in support of which contention he, too, references principally Valeriano. Horowitz's objective is to establish "the connection between facial appearance and the construction of otherness" (1185). He succeeds in this in part by picking up where Valeriano left off, that is, marshaling contemporary evidence from the European record in oblique support of Valeriano's positive reassessment of masculine facial hair, here put to the service of ideologies of conquest and, ultimately, colonization. This reading is potentially valuable for interpreting the *Rasoir*'s agenda and strategy as well—both of which would constitute a provocative expansion of Horowitz's thesis—and not just on account of the *Rasoir*'s obvious debt to the *Pro sacerdotum barbis*. The *Rasoir*'s Calvinist author perceives himself as openly engaged in an attempted righteous overthrow of a corrupt indigenous regime, the Roman Church, and to that end seeks to strengthen his troops' resolve and weaken that of his enemy by reconstructing, even demonizing, the latter as other, the most convenient mark of which is, similarly and conveniently, hairlessness.

Réforme" (150) ["a posthumous recovery of Valeriano by the Reform"]. He is, however, less willing to grant it the same rhetorical effectiveness of the Valeriano model it repurposes: "Cette littérature polémique repose sur la virtuosité de la réplique plus que sur la solidité des arguments; il ne s'agit pas d'être coherent, mais percutant dans l'invective" (149) ["This polemical literature relies on the virtuosity of its riposte more than on the solidity of its arguments. It's not about coherent but rather hard-hitting invective"].

20 Elliott Horowitz, "The New World and the Changing Face of Europe," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, 4 (1997), 1181–1201.

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Medievalist Edward James, in a consideration of "Bede and the Tonsure Question," had already pointed in this direction.[21] Although focused on the "early medieval mind" of the Benedictine historian's eighth-century contemporaries, James's assertion that "the cutting of hair was able to carry a whole bundle of meanings" (87) for them, is obviously applicable to both the *Pro sacerdotum barbis* and the *Rasoir*. Rather than look for possible origins for the practice of tonsure, James seeks plausible significances, sifting and citing references from Samson to Pliny to Dagobert, with, understandably, special emphasis on medieval examples closest to Bede, before turning to "the insights of anthropologists" (93), particularly the work of Arnold Van Gennep, Victor Turner, and Edith Turner.

> The ritual of separation from the community is accomplished by the ceremony of tonsure, a symbol of renunciation not only because it was a symbol of shame, but because it was a denial of the free status that had been the birthright of most clerics, and was to be followed by a lifestyle that was a negation of the norms of lay society. The cleric was an outsider, and was made such not 'by a long drawn out, solemn ritual of dissociation,' as is the case of an ascetic, but by the act of tonsure. (94)[22]

Similarly, and yet quite distinctly, the *Pro sacerdotum barbis* and the *Rasoir* both capitalize on the notion of shame and the "negation of the norms of lay society," and the intended appeal and strength of their respective arguments lie in exposing how traditional Catholic practice, at least with regard to facial hair, has violated those norms and, in the case of the *Pro sacerdotum barbis* especially, (willfully) abandoned Catholic ones. The shorn cleric is marked as an outsider, but what was understood by Bede and the Church as a necessary and necessarily *positive* ascetic dissociation and personal sacrifice, in the hands of Valeriano and the *Rasoir* author becomes a sign of *negative* marginalization and, even more damning in the *Rasoir*, of an exploitative parasitism for individual and corporate gain.

For Valeriano, defense of the beard justifies a papal patron's eccentric penitential practice and said practice's pointed, shaming reminder to a wayward ecclesiastical hierarchy of its role in the 1527 catastrophe. The resulting symbolic "mark of the beast" is one the pope quite literally and purposefully wears on his face: he violates clerical norms for the sake of making a point

21 James, "Bede and the Tonsure Question," 85–98.

22 James quotes here Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 131.

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regarding restoration of a lost purity. The author/narrator of the *Rasoir* does his own unique riff: the tonsure and shaving that mark the cleric as selfless, ascetic other, on the contrary, make of him a selfish, hedonistic other, an apostate who negates not just the norms of lay society but those of Christianity itself. By wielding the title's razor so as to shave off (i.e., expose) what he perceives to be illegitimate papistic growth, he pledges to find underneath the original face and simple faith of the primitive Church, which was, so the co-option of the *Pro sacerdotum barbis*'s erudition allows him to argue, like Christ and the apostles, bearded.[23]

The *Rasoir*'s is a seemingly complicated, not to say paradoxical rhetorical maneuver, asserting to make the already shaven *clean*-shaven by restoring the authenticity and authority of facial hair, and in so doing, quite visually reconnecting to a lost patristic tradition. Yet it is actually simplicity itself: the papal church's waywardness is as plain as the missing beard on its face (or the bare spot on its pate). The *Rasoir*'s protracted abuse of a metonymy is thus baldfacedly consonant with the various reform arguments advanced for managing the thorny question of apostolic succession.[24] It sets out those arguments in the most basic, strikingly graphic terms, making them all the easier to grasp: Christ, the apostles, the patriarchs were bearded; modern-day clergy are not and, worse, flaunt their smooth chins and crowns as so many signs of their authentic succession.

The new and improved religion—or rather, from the *Rasoir* narrator's Calvinist perspective, the old and original religion restored to its former (and bearded) purity and splendor—is much like the evangelical humanism of the work's other uncredited but omnipresent stylistic model, François Rabelais: a virile religion, lean, hirsute, and masculine, in stark contrast to the fat, shaved, and effeminate religion of the Babylonian decadence, "la paillarde Babylone" (5). In this way, that is, via an appeal to widespread and ingrained anti-clerical prejudice and gender norms, popular moral judgment is elicited, the better to

23 Tempting as it would be to associate the *Rasoir* with fourteenth-century nominalist William of Occam's more celebrated one, the metaphor is of much later coinage. It has been argued that the *lex parsimoniae* attributed to him, namely that (roughly put), the simpler explanation is usually the better, can be detected in much Reform (and earlier) critique of Catholic practice. If, to cite Reform historian Steven Ozment, Occam's thought was early on perceived as a "threat to the exclusive mediating role of the church" (*The Age of Reform, 1250–1550* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980], 62), a very real, political threat, such was likewise the intent of the *Rasoir*. The razor trope, however, seems to be one of the few in the work that is original.

24 For a thoughtful and extended treatment of this, see in this volume George Hoffmann, "Reconversion Tales: How to Make Sense of Lapses in Faith," 245–65.

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elucidate the tricky spiritual and temporal issues of salvation and the role of the Church as mediator in that salvation. Such rhetoric looks to make them issues within the intellectual grasp of lay culture—"for the sake of the simple folk," to borrow from Robert W. Scribner's now classic title on German Reform woodcuts—whether they were actual readers (unlikely) or, rather, keen audiences for such forceful discursive images. As Peter Matheson has persuasively argued concerning German pamphlet literature of the 1520s:

> In their pages theology and piety become, for a while, *kurzweilig*, entertaining. And yet, at the same time, it had never been more serious. For really good play, as every teacher knows, is the most intense, concentrated work. One of the achievements of the pamphlet may have been to recover the playfulness of religious discourse. Its closeness to the dance, song, poetry, and ritual of oral culture enabled it to touch people in new depth. (21)

The *Rasoir* joins deftly, even self-consciously, the growing catalogue of similar tropes used to disseminate and vulgarize (i.e., popularize via vernacular formatting)—and later counter—reformist contentions. Its author does not shy away from throwing more such figures into the mix in an effort to link his efforts to concurrent trends in anti-Catholic polemic. Whether or not the short pasquinades appended to the *Rasoir* and referenced at the start of this essay are of the author's own composition (or even choosing), they pursue a popular trope exploited early in the text proper, the "marmite papale" or "papal cooking pot."

> Et voici infinies superstitions, faux miracles, lourds abus, & vilains [sic] erreurs, & horreurs, qui de tous costez sont entrez en l'Eglise Papale: lesquels ce Pape a receu pontificalement a l'usage de sa digne marmite. (5)
>
> [And here are infinite superstitions, false miracles, serious abuses, base errors and horrors that have entered from all sides into the Papal Church, which this Pope has accepted pontifically to fill his worthy cooking pot.]

Placed at the end as if to represent expected papal reaction to the ugly "truths" of such works as the *Rasoir*, the *Deploration des cardinaux et evesques, et de toute leur compagnie, pour leur mere la Messe* [*Lament by All the Cardinals, Bishops and All Their Followers for Their Mother the Mass*] recalls explicitly the "marmite papale" or "papal cooking pot." Members of the upper Church hierarchy console themselves with wine, women, and song, as, we are led to believe,

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is their time-honored custom, despite tonsure's barefaced proof of vocational rejection of same. They learn of the fatal disaster about to befall "their" Mass, central and defining ceremony of the Catholic Church and enduring sticking point in evangelical and reform theologies alike. Personified here, as in myriad other pamphlets and songs of the period, as a moribund "mère nourrice" ["nursing mother"], the Mass is treated not as a source of spiritual salvation or even solace, but rather as a free lunch, a literally inexhaustible and movable feast for an overfed Church, derelict in its duties to the flock and more alarmed at the prospect of losing its "gras morceaux" ["fatty morsels"] than interested in the reformist message of these "young" Gospel-wielding "prophets."

This particular trope of the Church's corruption and exploitation of the Mass, from holy reenactment or remembrance of the Last Supper into actual, gluttonous banquet, inspired a long-winded but riotous exchange printed in Lyon and Paris beginning in the 1560s. The principal contributions to this exchange were, aside from the seminal *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale* (1560, attributed to Théodore de Bèze), the anonymous *Extrême onction de la marmite papale* (1561) and *Polymachie des marmitons* (1562), as well as an orthodox rebuttal, Thomas Beauxamis's *La marmite renversee et fondue* (1562, later updated in a post-St. Bartholomew's Day edition), not to mention innumerable songs and bits of verse.[25] As early as the liminary poem, "Aux enfans du Pape," the *Rasoir* polemicist endeavors to prove that "la rasure est le repas" (2) ["shaving is the meal"] of the Pope's "Orgueil, & Avarice" (2) ["pride and avarice"] and of a Church whose teeth are "pourries de quasser ces gras morceaux" (22) ["rotten from chomping these fatty morsels"]. The *Rasoir* pamphleteer, or perhaps primarily its publisher, capitalizes on the *marmite* exchange to enhance his own argument, assuming pre-existing familiarity with a network of topics, as well as with the figurative means of elaborating those topics, all designed to figure forth the Roman church's lack of authority and authenticity.

Valeriano's humanist defense of facial hair is already as earnest as it is playful on the learned level of neo-Latin culture. However sincerely contemporaries may have taken its defense, its comic delights as mock *apologia* surely did not escape them. It is tempting, as well, to think its repurposing in the *Rasoir* went neither unnoticed nor unappreciated in certain circles. The *Rasoir*'s unattributed, more sharply polemical and *engagé* recycling of the *Pro sacerdotum barbis* for (anticipated) broader francophone consumption bears a pointed disclaimer: "Mon desseing est de demonstrer le temps, & l'origine

25 For more on this specific trope see my earlier "Cooking with the Pope: The Language of Food and Protest in Calvinist and Catholic Polemic from the 1560s," *Mediaevalia* 22 (1999), 30–53.

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de ceste risibonde, ie-dy, ordonnance, & introduction: puis ie rapporteray les causes, considerations, imaginations de ceste rasitation: *le tout veritablement en riant toutesfois*" (4) ["My plan is to demonstrate the origins of this risible, or should I say, razible, ordinance and institution. Then I will cover the causes, arguments and conceits of this enshavement: *all truthfully, if laughingly told*" (emphasis added)]. It thus marks itself from the start as purposefully *kurzweilig*. Both the *Pro sacerdotum barbis* and the *Rasoir* exploit the inherent frivolity of the topic yet both are aware, for that very reason, of its potential as device for a certain *captatio benevolentiae*, however partisan that good will, especially in the case of the *Rasoir*. And in so doing, both inscribe in print—and on the pope's face—different outgrowths of an increasingly contested Church history to which they both lay legitimate and legitimizing claim.

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CHAPTER 13

Reconversion Tales: How to Make Sense of Lapses in Faith

George Hoffmann

We are constantly on trial—
It's a way to be free.
BILL CALLAHAN, "RIVER GUARD"

A conversion can trigger modifications in behavior, and it may well bring assent to points of dogma, but one usually reduces it to neither. Rather, what a conversion means depends very much on the story of converting. Conversion's essence almost seems to lie in its telling: "the idea of conversion is inconceivable without its narrative expression," observes John Freccero.[1] What is conversion but the narrative reordering of one's life into a before and an after? It is no accident that Augustine models his famously fortuitous conversion on the story of his friend converting after having read the story of St. Anthony's conversion. If conversion can be considered a sort of technology of self-change, then its defining mode would seem to be narrative.

So, a story: in late August 1572, news of the slaughter of thousands of French reformers struck fear into Hugues Sureau du Rosier, unsettling long-held convictions which he found, to his surprise, he had believed in only as one might in platitudes. A prominent minister in Orléans, Du Rosier had conducted a high-profile pamphlet war with the Catholic polemicist Gentien Hervet. Yet, he had

1 John Freccero, "Autobiography and Narrative," in *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*, ed. Thomas C. Heller et al. (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1986), 20. I thank Paul Yachnin for inviting me to share a draft of this essay at a meeting of the Early Modern Conversions Project at McGill University, during which he, Kathleen Long, Mark Vessy, and Peter Marshall all offered many helpful suggestions. Most of all, I thank Mary McKinley, whose work on Marguerite de Navarre first inspired my interest in the Reformation as a broader cultural phenomenon.

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also supported more radical Congregationalists against the centralized and hierarchical model for reformed churches advocated by the vociferous Théodore de Bèze.[2] Du Rosier had always regarded himself as open to dialogue, yet ready to die for his faith. That is, until word came of the Parisian massacre. Before the week was out, he was racing for the Swiss border disguised as a Catholic: he pinned a white cross to his hat and likely shaved his beard as well.

Stopped in the town of Moret, his cover story fell apart, and he could only stammer that he was a traveling baker.[3] Once in prison, he resolved to die a martyr and began again expounding reformation teachings, handily confounding his guards. However, as the days wore on, his courage wore down; he begged a judge to be received back into the Roman faith. His speech proved too persuasive for his own good, and, barely three weeks after his escape, the Royal court called him to Paris to sway the prince of Navarre to abjure. How much Du Rosier was dissimulating must not have been clear even to him for, once he was finally freed, all the new attention from high quarters convinced him to settle in the heart of Paris, at the epicenter of the past summer's massacres.

Conversion or Apostasy?

The recent popularity of the notion of "serial conversion" has encouraged historians to attend more closely to people like Du Rosier who changed faith multiple times.[4] The idea that conversion did not necessarily stand as a once-

2 Thierry Wanegffelen, "Quitte-t-on jamais une religion? Les réformés français et le 'papisme' (XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} siècles)," in *La Religion que j'ai quittée*, ed. Daniel Tollet (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2007), 163–76; Robert M. Kingdon, "Calvinism and Democracy: Some Political Implications of Debates on French Reformed Church Government, 1562–1572," *The American Historical Review* 69, 2 (1964), 393–401, and "Genève et les réformés français: le cas de Hugues Sureau, dit Du Rosier (1564–1574)," *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève* 12, 2 (1961), 77–87; Louis Hogu, *Jean de L'Espine, moraliste et théologien (1505?-1597). Sa vie, son œuvre, ses idées* (Paris: H. Champion, 1913), 40–47.

3 Hugues Sureau du Rosier, *Confession de foy faicte par H. S. Du Rosier avec abjuration et detestation de la profession Huguenotique* (Paris: S. Nivelle, 1573), 3ov.

4 Molly Murray, "Motion Rhetoric in Serial Conversion Narratives: Religion and Change in Early Modern England," in *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism*, ed. Lowell Gallagher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 84–112, and *The Poetics of Conversion in Early Modern English Literature: Verse and Change from Donne to Dryden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Thierry Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome, ni Genève. Des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVI^{e} siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1997); Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

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in-a-lifetime event but could serve as a repeatable practice strains against conversion's claim to enact definitive change. For that reason, multiple conversions like Du Rosier's lay out for view some of the complexities in the concept of conversion itself. *Re*conversion applies pressure upon conversion's narrative structure and leads one to widen the types of story that can be imagined for conversion itself.

How definitive was Du Rosier's reconversion to Catholicism to prove? A close reader of his account might have begun to detect the signs of disarray immediately. After speaking of reformers as "us," Du Rosier switches to "them" and, later still, labels his former fellows "Protestants," a rare appellation in France, instead of the usual "Huguenot" or "those of the so-called reformed religion" (4r–5r, 8r, 17r, 23v, 27v, 35v).[5] But by the close, he has lapsed back into calling Catholics "them" and reformers "us"; on the same page he uses a pejorative "pretendue Religion" ["so-called religion"], to designate the Reformation at the same time as he addresses reformers as "freres" ["brothers"] (31v).

In fact, Du Rosier soon considered abandoning again the fold of the old Church. Only two months had passed, and his freshly found ardor for the papacy was already beginning to cool. Yet the high and powerful were not finished with him: the Duc de Montpensier dispatched him and the rising Jesuit star Jean Maldonat to reconvert the Duchesse de Bouillon, whom Du Rosier had helped withstand similar efforts only six years earlier. Letters from colleagues nearly convinced him to flee, but worries over his ailing wife and his children held him back. Then, in Metz, as the duo impressed the Comte de Retz, he learned that his family had safely crossed into Germany and the next day, just as winter was arriving, he ran for the border again. Once reunited with his family, he begged his old adversary Bèze to grant him asylum in Geneva.

Du Rosier's earlier justification for returning to the Roman Church became an embarrassing document, one that called forth a second explanation. The earlier "conversion" now counts as but a "metamorphose, ou changement advenu en ma personne" ["metamorphosis or change that came over my person"], and the Ovidian association was surely meant to discredit his Roman lapse as one might discredit belief in a pagan myth. Those actions displayed the mere "signes" ["tokens"] of a conversion in someone "transformé en autre homme" ["transformed into another man"], worse still, someone "endorm[i]" ["sleeping"] or "en la possession du Prince de ce monde" ["possessed by the devil of

5 Thomas H. Clancy, S. J., "Papist-Protestant-Puritan: English Religious Taxonomy 1565–1665," *Recusant History* 13, 4 (1976), 233; see, in the English context, Peter Marshall's excellent study of how long it took for "Protestant" to move into accepted usage, "The Naming of Protestant England," *Past and Present* 214 (2012), 87–128.

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this world"].[6] Rather than a stark break that established a clear-cut before and after, Du Rosier now emphasized longer-term continuities that served to elide his Catholic interlude and bridge his initial entry into the reformed faith with his present return to it. The Catholic episode thus became an anomaly that occupied the punctual time familiar to epiphany, while reconversion to the Reformation becomes a recollection that runs as an unbroken—if occasionally repressed—constant throughout these troubled and tense months.

Yet, even here, Du Rosier cannot resist the urge to present his return to the Reformation as something of a conversion: he was beset by a "guerre interieure en moy-mesme" ["internal war within me"], in which he slowly began "à me resveillir plus vivement de ce sommeil profond et de ceste lethargie de mon esprit" ["to stir awake from the deep sleep and the spiritual lethargy of my spirit"], into which his abjuration has cast him. News of his family's safety arrived by the "singuliere providence de Dieu," ["singular providence of God"]; he stayed awake all night praying, and God responded by delivering him from his captors (A6v, A7r, A7v–A8r). We will never know whether Du Rosier finally stood firm in his reformed convictions or whether he might not have wavered again: the plague surprised him and his family the following year, still awaiting an invitation that Bèze, who frankly despised him, would never send.[7] Yet once again Du Rosier was ready to name his change of faith a "conversion."[8]

Confessions in Place of Conversion Tales

Told this way, Du Rosier's story—albeit with hesitations and reversals—appears a vexed sort of conversion tale. But Du Rosier did not choose to tell it this way. His two accounts do not hold the focus one expects and only inadvertently provide the splintered elements of his story. Biography acts as a backdrop—necessary to understand why he is writing his account but not to

6 *Confession et recognoissance de Hugues Sureau dit du Rosier, touchant sa cheute en la papauté, & les horribles scandales par luy commis* (London: W. Williamson, 1573), A4r, A5v, A6v. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

7 "[…] quorum unus Roserius nomine, author et adjutor fuit Ramo ad turbandas Ecclesias, vir alioqui non indoctus, sed usque adeo improbus et sceleratus" ["of whom one by the name of Rosier, author and helper of Ramus in stirring up trouble in the churches, otherwise not unlearned, but to the point of being immoderate and impious"], letter to Heinrich Bullinger, November 12, 1572, Théodore de Bèze, *Correspondance*, eds. Hippolyte Aubert et al., vols. 27- (Geneva: Droz, 1960-), 13:216.

8 *Traitté des certaines et inseparables marques de la vraye Eglise de Dieu* (Heidelberg: J. Mayer, 1574), 1.

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understand his conversion itself. "The sense of undergoing a profound change, of experiencing a 'conversion'" may well have acted as "the most significant factor giving shape to an emergent 'Protestantism,'" as Peter Marshall argues, but, as he also notes, conversion accounts in the sixteenth century sorely lack narrative detail.[9] They do not by and large feature the moving recitals of anguish that suddenly soar into moments of epiphany we have come to expect from such accounts. The following century would elaborate templates for such uplifting stories, but the sixteenth century did not indulge in them. Calvin never confessed a moment of Augustinian epiphany comparable to Luther's.[10] Like most French reformers, Calvin thought of religious choice in terms less of a "turning" than of one's "calling," or vocation. In most cases, adhesions to the French reformation are not even datable with any degree of certainty. Theodore de Bèze illustrates their paucity: he fell sick at some point, he remembered his old tutor, he had grown tired of trying to reconcile the duty he felt toward his mistress with those he owed his benefices. This summarizes the entire story of how the second most important French reformer converted, and in hardly many fewer words. Christianity may have been shifting from a culture to a faith, from a religion grounded in community to one founded on conviction, or from what Du Rosier called "prestations exterieures ou pour le moins contenances et semblans" ["outward performance, or at least expressions and appearances"] to "du sentiment et foi qu'on a interieurement" (*Traitté des marques*, 69) ["an inner feeling of faith"], but one finds little evidence of these changes in Reformation-era accounts of conversion.

Instead of the stories we expect, French sixteenth-century writers who explained changes of faith penned "confessions." Usually appearing in slender octavo formats without decoration, these volumes bore the same form, and often the same mission, as controversial literature more generally. They argued theology more than they spun out anecdotes. What one believed still seemed to overshadow how one believed.

9 Peter Marshall, "Evangelical Conversion in the Reign of Henry VIII," in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 36; "hardly any full-blooded conversion narratives survive for the pre-Elizabethan period in England […] it is striking the modern biographers of many of the leading English reformers of the first generation have found considerable difficulty in attempting to date with any precision at all when it was that their subjects converted" (15).

10 Heiko Oberman, "*Subito conversio*: The Conversion of John Calvin," in *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees* (Geneva: Droz, 2009), 131–48, especially 140–41, where Oberman argues *subito* means not "suddenly" but "unexpectedly."

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As he settled back in Paris and, later, while he futilely awaited word from Geneva, Du Rosier confronted the challenge of making sense of his own behavior in writing two of these relatively impersonal, dogmatic "confessions." Prominent reconversions like Du Rosier's were regarded as trophies to be displayed to political advantage. "When an individual converted to Rome, he demonstrated the existence of a hidden fund of latent popery," observes Michael Questier in England, "such changes were thought, according to a religious domino theory of conversion and apostasy, to induce a cascade of further alterations in faith in allegiance" (*Conversion*, 8). But, at a time of such high stakes, when coercion and conversion could prove difficult to disentangle, Du Rosier's two accounts maintain a surprising degree of coherence given the considerable and opposing pressures that must have been brought to bear on their composition. A distinctly French reformed idiom runs down the middle of both works—albeit more unrestrainedly in the Protestant one. Du Rosier expresses pious "horror" at unorthodoxy ("dissipation horrible," "ruine horrible," "Chose plus que detestable et horrible seulement à penser"); he cites "abuses" ("abusez nous-mesmes," "abusant du don de Dieu"), exclaims incredulity at religious "scandales," names saints "martyres," speaks of being "mortifié," and labels religious adversaries "foreign" ("des articles de doctrine estranges et contraires à toutes pieté, desquelz les consciences craignans Dieu ont horreur," "rien d'estrange, ni exhorbitant," "en un lieu où je me fusse possible enfondré en d'autres fantasies estranges").[11] Both works harbor grave doubts over the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and even the Catholic account seems to maintain that Christ is sacrificed in the sacrament not literally but only in "remembrance" (*Confession de foy*, 36r). On the other hand, it seems likely that the doctrine of double predestination never sat comfortably with Du Rosier, even when he professed profound allegiance to the reformation. Most curious of all, both works offer the same theological pretext for his enduring hesitations and persistent attraction to the old Church.

The Doctrine of Personal Succession

Du Rosier wrote confessions, not conversion stories, so one should expect that the explanation for his changes of faith remains doctrinal rather than circumstantial. Nonetheless, the reason Du Rosier evokes may seem surprising. He justifies his Catholic reconversion through the "personal succession"

11 *Confession de foy* (1573), 9r, 15r, 29r, 6r, 10v, 33v, 22r, 17v, 30v; cf. *Confession et recognoissance* (1573), B2v, B6r, etc.

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of the Roman Church (*Confession de foy*, 2v, 27v–29v, 31r). "Personal succession" names the claim by which Rome established its exclusive right to Jesus's legacy, founded upon an unbroken series of bequests supposedly stretching from the apostle Peter to the present-day pope. The Church's authority thus perpetuated itself through a supposedly contiguous and tangible transmission, conveyed in the imposition of hands by one bishop upon the next during ordination. Closely entwined in France with the question of impending dynastic succession, this "apostolic succession" now weighed heavily in the balance for Du Rosier as he contemplated the tattered remains of the reformed churches in France and their dim prospects for future perpetuation and continuity (*Confession et recognoissance*, A3r, B1r, B1v).[12]

This seems a surprising upshot. Yet, the decision over whether a reformation would take place within the Roman Church, or outside it, turned on the question of the laity's right to administer sacraments, conduct services, and teach from the Bible. If anyone could feel inspired to minister to others, what legitimated those truly called, and what distinguished them from those merely opinionated on matters of faith? A measure of the confusion provoked by this question can be heard in the protest of Jean Balard, a high-ranking burgher in Geneva who balked at the sudden appearance of reformers in his home town: on July 24, 1536, he declared, "Je veulx vivre selon levangile et nen veulx pas user selon linterpretation daucuns particuliers" ["I wish to live by the Gospel and not to follow it through the interpretation of private persons"].[13]

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12 Preoccupation with the Church's succession dates to Christianity's first century. See Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 18–19; Pontien Polman, *L'Élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1932), 155–57. But the question had been much reinvigorated by debate at the Council of Trent. Du Rosier claimed that these doctrinal reservations had made him ready to convert already in July—a month before the massacre, *Confession de foy* (1573), 29v—a claim that Thierry Wanegffelen accepts, "Des méconnus de l'histoire des Églises: penser le fait religieux en France au XVI^e siècle hors des schémas confessionnels," *L'Information historique* 57, 2 (1995), 59, and *Ni Rome, ni Genève*, 369–73; see also Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564–1572* (Geneva: Droz, 1967), 118–19, and "Problems of Religious Choice for Sixteenth-Century Frenchmen," *Journal of Religious History* 4 (1966), 106–108; Paul Beuzart, "H. Sureau du Rosier (1530?–1575?)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 88 (1939), 258–59. But a year later, Du Rosier will antedate his doubts once again, this time to May, *Traitté des marques*, 13.

13 Jean-Jacques Chaponnière, *Journal du syndic Jean Balard ou relation des événements qui se sont passés a Genève de 1525 à 1531 avec une introduction historique et biographique de la famille Balard* (Geneva: Jullien, 1854), lxvii–viii.

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At least six years previous, Du Rosier had encountered arguments for "succession" while debating two Catholic theologians in a "conference" in Paris held before the Duchesse de Bouillon (no less than Diane de Poitiers's daughter). Du Rosier's adversaries asserted that the right to perform services applied

> seulement à ceux qui sont ordonnez legitimement, par imposition des mains des Pasteurs et Evesques: selon la succession depuis les Apostres jusques à nous [...] la pluspart des Ministres de l'Eglise qui se dit reformee, ne sont ordonnez par l'imposition des mains des Pasteurs, qui ayent la puissance, par la succession des uns aux autres, depuis les Apostres.
>
> [only to such as are lawfully ordained by the imposition of the handes of the Pastors and the Bishoppes, according to the succession since the Apostles till our time [...] the most parte of the ministers of the supposed reformed church, are not ordained by the authoritie of the handes of the Pastors, who have power by succession of one to another, since the Apostles.][14]

The argument hardly proved specific to this particular conference. Two years earlier in Lyon, a leading Swiss reformer had identified the Catholic side in such debates with arguments for succession: "Car le principal poinct par lequel ils veulent maintenir leur estat, et leur religion c'est par le droit de sucession" ["the chief justification by which they want to maintain their status and their religion is through the right of succession"].[15] George Gifford began his 1582 *Dialogue betweene a Papist and a Protestant* with the Catholic claiming "the fathers of our Church are the successors of the Apostles."[16] We can assume its status as a rote reply long before then.

But if rote, it nevertheless seems to have proven persuasive. The notion of an uninterrupted inheritance that legitimated Roman prelates exerted a powerful pull over imaginations, and one finds frequent reference to the idea of early successors to the Apostles who, "obtaining the first step of Apostolical

14 Jean de L'Espine, *Actes de la dispute et conference tenue à Paris, ès mois de juillet, et aoust 1566, entre deux Docteurs de Sorbonne et deux ministres de l'Eglise réformée* (Strasbourg [Lyon? Paris?]: P. Estiard [J. Guintra?], 1566), 272.

15 Pierre Viret, *De l'authorité et perfection de la doctrine des sainctes Escritures, et du Ministère d'icelle: et des vrais et faux pasteurs, et de leurs disciples: et des marques pour cognoistre et discerner tant les uns que les autres* (Lyon: Cl. Senneton, 1564), 2π3v.

16 *A Dialogue betweene a Papist and a Protestant: Applied to the Capacitie of the Unlearned* (London: [R. Warde for] T. Cooke, 1583), 4v.

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succession, and being as divine Disciples of the chief and principal men, built the Churches everywhere, planted by the *Apostles*: preaching, and sowing the celestial seed of the king of heaven, throughout the world."[17] Analogies to biological inheritance often figured explicitly in arguments for ecclesiastical continuity "par semence Apostolique, et succession d'Evesque à Evesque" (*Traitté des marques*, 8) ["by apostolic insemination and succession from Bishop to Bishop"], a point that Du Rosier picked up in speaking of the first churches "dependantes de la semence Apostolique" ["depending on apostolic insemination"].[18]

Still, such arguments would seem ill-suited to captivate Du Rosier. Du Rosier's strong Congregationalist sympathies should have rendered him immune to arguments in favor of Church hierarchy. It was precisely reformers' absence of a legitimating record of succession that drove him to feel wary of Bèze's efforts to assert authority over French congregations, or, indeed, of any attempt at "establissans ordre sans origine" (*Traitté des marques*, 11) ["establishing order without origin"]. Why, then, would he have placed so much credence in the Roman Church's claims to succession? The justification appears all the more incongruous in that, impossible to substantiate, "succession" needed to be taken on faith, and thus would seem hardly more solid than other arguments for Roman authority that reformers did not hesitate to contest.

A Reformed Succession?

Yet we move too quickly if we brush away "personal succession" as a flimsy pretext for abjuration. Du Rosier's was a world in which nearly everything hinged upon prerogatives of inheritance. Not only land and wealth, but choice of profession, political office, and one's spouse could depend upon bequests and claims of succession. "Inheritance provided a language and a conceptual apparatus for understanding the self and the community," as Jonathan W. Smith reminds.[19] How was one to understand human nature, if not through the "personal succession" of original sin? It may seem easy, today, to dismiss the Roman Church's claims of "personal succession" as fanciful, but in struggling against

17 Meredith Hanmer, *The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories of the First Six Hundred Yeares after Christ* (London: Th. Vautroullier, 1577), 55.

18 Jacques du Pré [René Benoist?], *Conférence avec les ministres de Nantes en Bretaigne, Cabanne et Bourgonnière* (Paris: N. Chesneau, 1564), 15v.

19 Jonathan W. Smith, "England's 'Best Birthright': Inheritance as Law and Theology in Early Modern English Literature," PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 2010, 4.

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them, Du Rosier's colleagues had to struggle mightily against ingrained habits of mind.

In fact, reformers often resorted to their own, alternate accounts of personal succession by citing ancestors among preceding centuries' devotional movements. In Germany, Luther might exclaim, "in short, we are all Hussites," while in England, John Fox could claim among Lollards a "secret multitude of true professors."[20] In France, the Waldensians had not only preceded the Reformation by three and a half centuries, but they had formally recognized Swiss reformers as their heirs and joined them in 1532. French reformed histories readily presented the Waldensian movement as a forerunner of the Lollards, Hussites, and even Luther himself.[21] Now, most reformers agreed the Church had remained pure through the time of the Fathers of the fourth century; many, like Calvin, were willing to extend their recognition up to Pope Gregory I in the sixth century. Even if one were to antedate the beginnings of reform to the Waldensians, however, this still left a gap "depuis le septieme à l'onziesme siecle" ["from the seventh to the eleventh century"] (Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, 1:169). On the subject of where the reformed church had been during this time, Calvin thus maintained a prudent vagueness, "Par cy [...], par là, icy l'un, là un autre, par tout espars et clair semez" ["Here [...], there, here one, there another, scattered and dispersed all over"].[22] Du Rosier similarly omits detail, "Dieu a toujours eu quelque nombre de gens qu'il conservoit en la cognoissance de la verité" ["God has always kept a certain number

20 Peter Marshall, "Lollards and Protestants Revisited," in *Wycliffite Controversies,* ed. Mishtooni Bose and J. Patrick Hornbeck II (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 295; Eric L. Saak, *High Way to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292–1524* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 626.

21 Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Histoire universelle* (1618–26), ed. André Thierry, 11 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1981–2000), 1:27; Lancelot-Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'Histoire de France enrichie des plus notables occurrances suruenues ez prouinces de l'Europe & pays voisins, soit en paix soit en guerre, tant pour le fait seculier qu'eclesiastic, depuis lan 1550 jusques a ces temps*, 2 vols. (1581; [Geneva: G. de Laimarie for J. Chouet], 1582), 1:475v; Théodore de Bèze and Simon Goulart, *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France* (Anvers [Geneva]: J. Remy [J. de Laon], 1580), ed. G[uillaume] Baum and [August] E[douard] Cunitz, 3 vols. (Paris: Fischbacher, 1883–89), 1:52, 1:162. These works compare with similar efforts to establish a Waldensian continuity for the Reformation in the 1556 *Catalogus testium veritatis* by Flacius Illyricus; see Anna Minerbi Belgrado, *L'Avènement du passé. La Réforme et l'histoire* (Paris: Champion, 2004), 26–29, Polman, *L'Élément historique*, 178–200.

22 Calvin quoted in Claude d'Espence, *Apologie contenant ample discours, exposition, response et defense de deux conferences avec les minsitres de la religion prétendue réformée en ce royaume* (Paris: M. Sonnius, 1569), 144.

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of people whom he held in the truth"] (*Traitté des marques*, 113). Elsewhere he appears to claim a continuity with the early Church through an unbroken "series" of anonymous martyrs willing to die for their beliefs.[23]

Instead of leaning too heavily upon vernacular versions of personal succession, however, French reformers preferred to argue that succession occurred not through persons but through doctrine. This amounted to asserting a continuity of principle while surrendering claims of personal inheritance. Calvin set the tone for this compromise early on in a public letter he addressed to François I^er^, "l'Eglise peut consister sans apparence visible [...] elle a bien autre marque, c'est assavoir la pure prédication de la parolle de Dieu" ["the church can exist without any visible appearance [...] it has quite another mark: namely, the pure preaching of God's Word"].[24] Thus, the "saving remnant" among the medieval faithful established a continuity based on the permanence of scripture, not institutional affiliation.[25] Du Rosier himself would correspondingly redefine apostolic succession as "la succession non des personnes, mais en la doctrine des Prophetes et Apostres" (*Confession et recognoissance*, B5r) ["not the succession of persons and of men, but of the doctrine of the Prophets and

23 On the question of Du Rosier's place in evolving conceptions of reformed martyrdom, see the illuminating essay by Amy C. Graves, "Martyrs manqués: Simon Goulart, continuateur du martyrologe de Jean Crespin," *Revue des sciences humaines* 269, 1 (2003), 53–86, especially 73–78.

24 *Institution de la religion chrestienne*, 3rd ed. (Geneva: J. Crespin, 1560), ed. Jean-Daniel Benoît, 5 vols. (Paris: J. Vrin, 1957–63), 1:42, 4:41; trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill, *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 1:24, 2:1043. Bèze repeated this teaching at the Poissy Colloquium, "Quant à la succession personnelle, nous l'avouons aussi, mais sous condition qu'elle soit conjoincte avec celle de la doctrine" ["As for personal succession, we recognize it as well, but under the condition that it be joined to the succession of doctrine"], Bèze and Goulart, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 1:625, and "ceste succession, de laquelle quelques uns font bouclier, n'a plus de lieu [...] Davantage, nous ne debattons pas de la succession des personnes, mais de la doctrine" ["this succession, which some use as a shield, does not pertain [...] All the more in that we are not fighting over a succession of persons but one of doctrine"], letter to Louis de Condé, 20 February 1565, Bèze, *Correspondance*, 6: 258–59; trans. Thomas Harding, *A Confutation of a Booke Intituled An Apologie of the Church of England* (Antwerp: I. Laet, 1565), 56v–57r. Although Questier tends to see such arguments as largely immaterial to conversions at the time, Du Rosier's case suggests that they carried real weight in matters of conscience, *Conversion*, 25–33.

25 Anthony Milton, "The Church of England, Rome, and the True Church: The Demise of a Jacobean Consensus," in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth C. Fincham (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1993), 191.

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Apostles" (C7v)].[26] The topic exercised him to such a degree that the following year he published an entire book on the succession of doctrine, *Traitté des certaines et inseparables marques de la vraye Eglise de Dieu*.

Where Had the Reformation Been?

An "invisible" church, scattered "here and there" might allay qualms about the past, but it procured little solace regarding the future. How could reformers reconcile the destiny to which they aspired with their present calamity? The recent slaughter had shaken Du Rosier's faith in the providential core that had given sense to a Reformation vision of history. Where earlier adversities faced by God's elect had seemed to him rejuvenating, the wholesale murder of thousands now suggested regarding God "qu'il avoit en detestation et qu'il condamnoit la profession et exercice de nostre Religion" (*Confession et recognoissance*, A3v) ["that he detested and condemned the profession and exercise of our Religion" (A7r–v)]. It took Du Rosier considerable time and effort before he could overcome the trauma of these mass executions and again begin to assimilate them into inspirational models of martyrdom.

The situation proved all the more troubling when compared to "une singuliere providence de Dieu" (Du Rosier, *Confession de foy*, 29v) ["God's singular providence"], in maintaining an unbroken 1,500–year "succession des Prestres depuis S. Pierre jusques au present Evesque" (Du Pré, *Conférence*, 15v) ["succession of priests, from Saint Peter to the present Bishop"] in the Roman Church. The claim that such succession had allowed the oral transmission of "unwritten verities" of Church doctrine, as Peter Marshall has explored, proved central both to Catholic polemic and to Anglican Episcopalianism, and this raised further doubts in Du Rosier's mind.[27] He asked why the oral transmission of such truths should matter less than written ones, especially given that oral

26 However, Du Rosier had affirmed that the two were conjoined in his first confession, after having admitted he originally held that reformers stood as the true successors, *Confession de foy*, 5r, 29r–v. Thomas Bell defines this distinction as the difference between material and formal succession, *A Christian Dialogue, betweene Theophilus a Deformed Catholike in Rome, and Remigius a Reformed Catholike in the Church of England* (London: N. Okes for W. Welby, 1609), 67, cf. Polman, *L'Élément historique*, 154.

27 *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 81–99; Richard Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (London: J. Windet, 1604), pref. 4.4; Polman furnishes examples on the continent, *L'Élément historique*, 310–15; Théodore de Bèze, *Epistola Magistri Benedicti Passavanti* ([Basel?]: n.p., 1553), ed. and trans. J[eltine] L[ambertha] R[egina] Ledegang-Keegstra (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 198, 200.

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transmission might easily have also been guaranteed by the Holy Spirit. The doctrine of the Trinity, widely accepted by reformers despite the lack of clear scriptural precedent, seemed to prove a notable case in point (*Confession de foy*, 34r–35v).

The unsettling contrast between the Roman Church's longevity and the French Reformed churches' ephemerality appeared even more starkly when one recalled that the Reformation acted not so much to establish continuity as to accuse "ceste succession rompue" (Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, 1:167) ["broken succession"] with the past. Such an aim begged some important questions. "How and why did the Church come to go so far wrong," asks Euan Cameron, "that the Reformation was necessary?"[28] Du Rosier framed these concerns even more starkly: if reformers were right, he asked, "Pourquoy ne auroit Dieu suscité quelque Luther depuis tant de siècles?" (*Traitté des marques*, 45) ["Why would God have waited so many centuries to raise a Luther?"] Further, "[O]u estoit l'Eglise durant que cest erreur ou ignorance estoit tenue, suivie et preschee, que devenoyent ce pendant les promesses si belles et si amples que nostre Seigneur luy a faites" (*Confession de foy*, 34r) ["Where was the Church while this error or ignorance was held, followed, and preached? During this time what became of the generous and full promises that Our Lord had made to the Church?"]. In face of a Roman institution that claimed a palpable link to Christianity's foundation, reformers everywhere struggled to answer the question, as Bruce Gordon puts it, of "where had their church been for a thousand years?"[29] After the recent slaughter, they might well wonder where it would be in ten years.

Du Rosier's Two Peters

Against the Church's claims of succession, the Reformation proposed what would seem more a substitution. After Du Rosier returned to the reformed

28 *Interpreting Christian History: The Challenge of the Church's Past* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 123.

29 "The Changing Face of Protestant History and Identity in the Sixteenth Century," in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon, 2 vols. (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1996), 1:1–22, 1; François Laplanche, "La Controverse religieuse au XVII^{e} siècle et la naissance de l'histoire," in *La Controverse religieuse et ses forms*, ed. Alain Le Boulluec (Paris: Cerf, 1995), 373–404; James Simpson explores one line of argument, namely that the reformed Church conceptually predated the Roman and even Jewish ones, *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and Its Reformation Opponents* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 184–221.

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faith, he resolved these two impulses through the figure of the apostle Peter, who ultimately provided him a way to reconcile his conflicting impressions of succession and rupture, of continuity and upheaval, and of his own personal seesawing between conviction and apostasy.[30] The "rock" on which the Lord had established his Church, Peter had proven both stable and famously wavering. On the one hand, he constituted the fount head of the apostolic succession that the Roman Church claimed and that Du Rosier, troubled in his desire for reform, found so compelling within a patrimonial world where wealth, reputation, and identity all depended on "personal succession."[31]

On the other hand, Peter had thrice denied Jesus, a betrayal through comparison with which Du Rosier sought to understand his own apostasy. The story of Peter's tears at hearing the cock crow not only rounds out Du Rosier's account but figures in an epigraph that holds together the center of a crowded title page. More importantly, Peter served to unite a repentant Du Rosier with the very principle used to justify his indecision, the pope's unbroken link to the community of apostles (*Confession et recognoissance*, B2r–B3v). Ultimately it is Peter, not Paul, who speaks Du Rosier's own sense of his faith. As both ecclesiological symbol and evangelical figure, Peter thus brought together a transmissional notion of legitimacy with an identificational tale of apostasy that spoke powerfully to those, like Du Rosier, who vacillated between the developing confessional polarities of their day.

If Peter the rock established a contiguous succession between Jesus and the Roman Church, Peter repentant might help make sense of the break that could be claimed to separate reformers' culture from that of their forefathers, what one writer accused as "an interruption of this succession of doctrine."[32] Seeing the Church's history in terms of steady decline rather than unblemished conservation traced a pessimistic trajectory, alleviated only by the sudden renewal promised in the Reformation. This pattern of decay and restoration reemerged in the tales reformers shaped about themselves. Conversely, it was

30 As early as 1559, Pierre Viret proposes Peter as a particularly apposite analogue to reformers in France who hesitated to declare themselves openly, *Traittez divers pour l'instruction des fidèles qui résident et conversent ès liens et pais esquels il ne leur est permis de vivre en la pureté et liberté de l'Évangile* (Geneva: J. Rivery, 1559), 55–58.

31 "Sus ceste Pierre j'edifieray mon Eglise, &c" *Confession de foy*, 28v; *Traitté des marques*, 25, 71.

32 Harding, *A Confutation*, 57r; Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 273–327.

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the Reformation's break with the immediate past that made it possible for reformers like Du Rosier to relate to long-dead biblical figures, not as direct heirs to their legacy but through imaginative identification, and as their present-day incarnations.

The Bible as Personal Experience

Put another way, if the Reformation tended to redefine faith not as a social relation, but as assent to a set of propositions as a catechism might lay them out, what use remained for the other material in the Bible? Beyond one's articles of faith, what was one to make of all the colorful narratives? Although the upper echelon of reformed theologians may have eschewed biblical narrative in favor of more discursive sections of the Bible (Simpson, *Burning to Read*, 115), other readers preferred the stories.

In ascertaining his faith, Du Rosier did not so much read Bible stories for their own value as use them to transform the story he was constructing about himself. Biblical references served less to authorize, one could argue, than to help organize and understand his experience though an intensive practice of reading scriptures that Kate Narveson has recently characterized as "application to the self."[33] Taking up Calvin's old insult for reformers who simulated Catholicism in order to pass undetected, Du Rosier professed he had been a "Nicodemite," finding in the Bible the story of Nicodemus, who had only dared to come to Jesus under the cover of night (*Confession et recognoissance*, A5v).[34] Similarly, he alluded to the parable of the prodigal son and the hidden talents (A7r, B5v). The story he thus construed from these biblical figures, once safely in Heidelberg, uncovered a "conscience" that had known all along his Catholicism had been but a disguise. This putative inner voice retrospectively forms a unifying thread that contrasts his erratic exterior accommodations. He thus recast the attention in which he had basked in Paris and Metz as an

33 Kate Narveson, *Material Readings in Early Modern Culture: Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self-Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 79–99.

34 Of course, his outer pretense had managed to mightily trouble others' "conscience"; nothing seemed to guarantee that this confession would prove more sincere than his Catholic one that had appeared earlier the same year in Paris, *Confession et recognoissance*, A8v, B2v [*sic* for B3v], B5r.

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agonizing trial which he endured as penance for his apostasy (*Confession et recognoissance*, A4v, B1v-B2r).[35]

Du Rosier's two Peters epitomize two attitudes toward reading the Bible, and the Reformation coincided with a shift from the first to the second: that is, from a liturgical model of understanding scripture to a homiletic one that "valued the New Testament [...] as the record of early Christian experience."[36] If Peter as pontiff shored up ecclesiastical legitimacy, Peter as penitent could speak evocatively to individual failing. Religion understood in terms of personal experience played out less over discussion of doctrine than over tales of conversion and lapse endlessly retold and reshaped. *Sola scriptura* in fact nourished a taste for personal narratives and multiplied the kinds of stories people told about themselves.[37]

Or, more accurately, Bible narratives helped select what constituted an "experience" in the first place, allowing one to identify perplexity as spiritual crisis, change of heart as temptation, or hopelessness as prelude to the soul's awakening. Through "conversion," it allowed one to divide parts of one's life and declare oneself no longer who one once was. More, such self-authenticating "experience" allowed people to recognize a qualified sense of their own agency in times when they seemed least in control of their destinies. This permitted Du Rosier to recast himself as "historian" of his own fall and, from a position that one would hardly have thought entitled him to offer advice, to pass from admonishing himself to instructing others to stand fast (*Confession et recognoissance*, A2r–v).[38]

Translating personal struggles into a narrative never aimed at merely offering a record but, rather, a recipe; "to convert" can always act both transitively and intransitively within a proselytical context.[39] Like a penitent televangelist, Du Rosier offered up his sins and their redemption as inspiration to his

35 For the eclectic confessional environment that may have initially attracted Du Rosier to Heidelberg, Lyle D. Bierma et al., *An Introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism: Sources, History, and Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 15–47.

36 Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 8.

37 Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 97–98; Reinhard Bodenmann, "La Bible et l'art d'écrire des lettres. Pratiques dans l'aire germanique au XVI^{e} siècle," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 141 (1995), 357–82.

38 On "experience" as couching claims to agency, Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17, 4 (1991), 773–97.

39 Talal Asad, "Comments on Conversion," in *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity*, ed. Peter van der Veer (New York: Routledge, 1996), 263–73.

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sixteenth-century reader, "Mirez vous en mon exemple, et regardez à vous diligemment" ["Let my example serve you for a [looking] glass and have a diligent eye to yourselves"] (*Confession et recognoissance*, B4r). Already, he had offered his first, Catholic conversion "afin que cela leur puisse servir d'exemple lequel ils imitent," "so that it can serve as an example to be followed" (*Confession de foy*, 31v). Du Rosier strung together his vacillations to create a dark journey alongside other frightened reformers, a tale of his transformation into a serial "homicide des ames" ["murderer of souls"] and of ignominy that brought him to the depths of despair, and then brought him faith firmer than any he could have ever found through his own silver-tongued oratory (*Confession et recognoissance*, B2v).[40] Thus reshaped, personal lives offered evidence of God's hand in the form of providential micro-history.

The Bible thus served as a virtual matrix into which reformers fit themselves, but in so doing, they also brought the Bible's stories into their personal lives, updating and substantiating them in their immediate daily activities. Biblical allusion acted as a sort of narrative shorthand that served to abbreviate a fuller story, but such allusions also could extend far beyond the definitive, unidirectional, and unequivocal claims advanced by the classical conversion tale. This indexed biblical repertoire spanned a greater range of religious experience and captured the cyclical, provisional, and prospective moments invoked in living one's faith from day to day and year to year. The cryptic narratives encoded in biblical allusions helped to square who one had become with who one once was, to reconcile the tension between continuity and discontinuity that the Reformation posed, and to adjust one's sense of one's faith, a faith that would prove neither as unwavering nor as confirmed as one might always wish.

And so stories ran, from sin to repentance and to forgiveness, from lost to found, and lost again, from conversion to reconversion (how many times could one be saved from oneself?). Du Rosier's uneasy return to the Reformation troubles the definitive before/after shape inaugurated by Paul's epiphany on the road to Damascus. Instead, Du Rosier selected a more complicated tripartite schema to explain his actions, suggesting how conversions can adopt different patterns. At the same time, his doctrinal eclecticism meant he remained astraddle a widening confessional divide. Such eclecticism hardly proved unique to Du Rosier; many of his fellow French reformers initially resisted the consequences of double predestination, and many of those who returned to Catholicism harbored a lingering distaste at the notion of a carnal

40 The same claim, paradoxically, had underwritten his earlier departure from reformation, when God intervened to have him captured and imprisoned for his own salvation, *Confession de foy*, 30v.

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Host (Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome, ni Genève*, 380–84). The on-off-on sequence that Du Rosier adopted in his confession mirrored the temporal configuration that the Reformation itself had assumed in explaining the troubling interval that separated reformers from the early Christians whom they claimed to re-embody.

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CHAPTER 14

Aubigné, Josephus, and Useful Betrayal

Stephen Murphy

Autobiographer, historian, and polemicist, the writer who provides the most thorough account of the Jewish uprising against Roman domination in the first century CE and its defeat, Flavius Josephus must have been an irresistible writer for sixteenth-century readers. The many early printed editions and translations of this "Greek Livy" and "Fifth Evangelist" attest to his popularity.[1]

In particular, Josephus seemed to tell French readers about what they already knew from their own experience of the Wars of Religion. The historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou writes that a case of cannibalism during the siege of Sancerre in 1573 makes it easier to believe Josephus's account of the same desperate measure when Jerusalem was besieged in 70.[2] In the preface to his translation of Josephus's works, published in Geneva in 1597, Antoine de la Faye apostrophizes his homeland, addressing "toy France nostre mere commune, & patrie treschere" and informing her of her resemblance to first-century Palestine:

> Si tu lis une partie de cest' oeuvre, tu t'y verras despeincte. Change seulement les noms, & y mets ceux de quelques tiens nourrissons, & tu cognoistras que les mutineries, factions, partialitez, meurtres, pilleries, bruslemens, renversemens de villages, bourgs, & villes: famines, pestes, desolations de païs, violemens de tout droit divin & humain qui ont esté iadis en Iudee, sont sortis de leurs tristes manoirs, où toutes les furies les ont recueillis de toutes parts, pour venir en ce temps esclorre & se placer dedans toy.[3]

1 For both these epithets, see Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Du bon usage de la trahison," preface to Flavius Josephus, *La Guerre des Juifs*, trans. Pierre Savinel (Paris: Minuit, 1977), 30–32.

2 Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Historiae sui temporis*, 7 vols. (London: Samuel Buckley, 1733), 3:238. For a more detailed narrative of the case in Sancerre, see Jean de Léry, *L'Histoire mémorable du siège et de la famine de Sancerre* (*1573*). *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barthélemy*, ed. Géralde Nakam (1975; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 2000), 274–80, 290–95, as well as G. Nakam's introduction, 164–70, on the influence of Josephus.

3 *Les Œuvres de Flave Ioseph fils de Matthias* [...] ([Geneva:] Iehan de Preux, 1597), ¶¶ ii r.

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> [If you read a part of this work, you will see yourself depicted. Change nothing but the names and replace them those of your children, and you will know that the mutinies, factions, partisanship, murders, robberies, arson, destruction of villages, towns and cities; famine, plague, desolation of countries, violation of every human and divine law—everything that was formerly in Judea has now left its dreary dwelling where all the Furies collected it from all over, to turn up again in this moment, flourish and place itself within you.]

In addition to the horrors of war, the flourishing of religious extremism constitutes another of the parallels between Josephus's world and the world of the French civil wars. Adherents of the Catholic League were called Zealots, just like the Jewish rebels for whom Josephus never had a good word.[4]

Those two elements of the *Jewish War* were useful to Agrippa d'Aubigné in *Les Tragiques*. Josephus narrates the rebellion against Roman domination that culminated in the year 70 CE with the siege, conquest, and destruction of Jerusalem. The extraordinary suffering of the famished inhabitants reached its monstrous climax with the episode of a mother driven to eat her own child. This is clearly the source of one of the most famous episodes in Aubigné's first book, "Misères."[5] The poet leaves vague the place and time in contemporary France; whether the cannibal mother lives in a city under Protestant control besieged by Catholics or the other way around is unclear and unimportant for the poet's purpose, which is to illustrate the curse of civil war.

A second use of Josephus's account of Jerusalem under siege turns up in the final book, "Jugement." Here the contemporary equivalent to Jerusalem is explicit, and it is Paris under the "Seize": the capital under the control of the intransigent Catholic Ligueurs as it resisted the siege by Henri IV in 1590.

> Soubs toy, Hierusalem, meurtriere, revoltee,
> Hierusalem, qui es Babel ensanglantee:
> Comme en Hierusalem diverses factions
> Doubleront par les tiens tes persecutions:

4 See, for example, De Thou, *Historiae sui temporis*, 4:715 for *Zelotae* in Toulouse, 5:104, 108 for Paris. More generally, see Pauline M. Smith, "The Reception and Influence of Josephus's *Jewish War* in the Late French Renaissance with Special Reference to the *Satyre Menippée*," *Renaissance Studies* 13 (1999), 173–91.

5 *Les Tragiques*, ed. Jean-Raymond Fanlo (Paris: Champion, 2003), 1.495–542. Josephus, *The Jewish War*, vol. 3, ed. and trans. H. St. J. Thackeray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 6.201–12.

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Comme en Hierusalem de tes portes rebelles
Tes mutins te feront prisons et citadelles:
Ainsy qu'en elle encore tes bourgeois affolez,
Tes boutte-feux prendront le faux nom de zelez,
Tu mangeras comme elle un jour la chair humaine,
Tu subiras le joug pour la fin de ta peine,
Puis tu auras repos: ce repos sera tel
Que reçoit le mourant avant l'accez mortel.
Juifs Parisiens tres-justement vous estes,
Comme eux traistres, comme eux massacreurs des prophetes:
Je voy courir ces maux, approcher je les voy,
Au siege languissant par la main de ton roy.

LES TRAGIQUES, 7.271–86[6]

[Beneath you, Jerusalem, murderous, rebellious; Jerusalem, you who are bloody Babel: just as in Jerusalem, various factions will double your persecutions through your own. Just as in Jerusalem, your seditious inhabitants will make prisons and citadels out of your rebellious gates. Just as in her, your maddened citizens and your arsonists will assume the false name of Zealots. Like her you will eat one day human flesh, you will suffer the yoke as the end of your trouble, then you will have rest; that rest will be like what the moribund has just before the final attack. You are quite rightly Parisian Jews: like them traitors, like them murderers of prophets. I see these evils underway, I see them approach with the consuming siege conducted by the hand of your king.]

Among the important elements that Aubigné got from Josephus: a populace divided by factions. In Paris this means the Seize, militant preachers, and other Ligueurs who stir up suspicion of those who supposedly favor compromise with Henri. The account is at least partly modeled on Josephus's picture of Jersusalem held hostage by the Zealots, themselves divided into warring factions. Josephus portrays the Zealots as essentially fanatical thugs. They show a confidence in battle based on apocalyptic faith, but they also plunder and murder fellow Jews. Josephus repeatedly refers to them as *lēstai*, robbers. For him the result of Jewish civil strife, combined with their irrational resistance

6 Fanlo, like other editors of the poem, recognizes Aubigné's debt to Josephus. Aubigné was present at the siege of Paris, as he reports in his *Histoire universelle*, where he also mentions evidence of cannibalism, as in l. 279 here (*Histoire universelle*, 11 vols., ed. André Thierry [Geneva: Droz, 1981–2000], 8:177).

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to Rome is that, to put it crudely, they deserve what they get. Aubigné too portrays the sufferings of Paris as what its citizens bring upon themselves. In both accounts the instrument of providential revenge is the monarch: in the case of Jerusalem, Titus (who at that time is the son of the emperor Vespasian, but soon to become emperor himself); in the case of Paris, the legitimate soon-to-be-anointed king, Henri IV.

The presence of this passage in the apocalyptic book that concludes *Les Tragiques* should give pause. Historically, the siege of Paris was inconclusive. The arrival of the Duke of Parma broke up the royalist blockade of the city and Henri moved on, not to enter his capital until 1594 after his conversion/abjuration. Typically, it is less the historical than the symbolic event that Aubigné emphasizes here. And the telescoping of Josephus's narrative with contemporary events, "Juifs Parisiens," Jerusalem, and Paris (but a Paris also called Babel or Babylon) matches that emphasis. The final cataclysm owes its magnitude to Aubigné's hypotext, Jersusalem, rather than to the Paris of contemporary events.

Moreover, the passage from "Jugement" can cast light on the beginning of "Les Feux," the book of martyrdom, which opens with a procession of conquerors entering Jerusalem: "Ouvre Hierusalem tes magnificques portes" ["Open, Jerusalem, your magnificent gates"]. These conquerors are led by "Le Lion de Juda" ["the Lion of Juda"] but they also wear "l'escharppe blanche" ["the white sash"], which was the distinctive mark of royalist troops during the civil wars (*Les Tragiques*, 4.4–6) What the triumphal procession of martyrs sets in motion is an eschatological vision of the entry of Henri and his troops into Paris/Jerusalem.

Naturally, Aubigné also narrated of the events of his day in an avowedly less visionary style. Both he and Josephus wrote explicitly distinct historical and autobiographical texts, although both writers also blur the frontiers between those genres. Josephus's *Autobiography* narrates in the first person some of his experiences combatting Jewish rivals; his *Jewish War* tells the fuller story of the uprising—featuring himself as a third-person character—along with historical background going back to the time of the Maccabees; and the *Jewish Antiquities* comprises an epic history of Jewish civilization starting with Genesis.[7] Aubigné's *Histoire universelle* takes as its subject events in France from the mid-sixteenth until the early seventeenth century, framed by

7 References are to Flavius Josephus, *Autobiographie*, ed. and trans. André Pelletier (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003); *La Guerre des Juifs*, 3 vols., ed. and trans. André Pelletier (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975–82) (for Books 1–5); *The Jewish War*, vol. 3 (for Books 6–7); *Jewish Antiquities*, 9 vols., ed. and trans. H. St. J. Thackeray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930–65.

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contemporary developments in Europe and the Mediterranean world; *Sa vie à ses enfants* is an autobiography in the third person in which Aubigné spends a fair amount of time clarifying some of the many references to himself in the *Histoire*.[8] While Josephus's historical narrative ends with the destruction of the Jewish state, the latter parts of the (unfinished) *Histoire universelle* and Aubigné's autobiography tell of the definitive decline of the Protestant party in France.

It would, of course, be misleading to exaggerate the parallels between Aubigné and Josephus. To put it simply, the Jewish revolt and its suppression by Rome do not really resemble the French civil wars, except in a few particulars, such as the importance of urban sieges and the role of religious fanaticism. The ethos Josephus himself communicates is a disabused acceptance of Roman hegemony, which is far from Aubigné's persona, the epithets "le Ferme" or "le Bouc du desert" broadcasting opposition without compromise.[9] However, the two writers may be interestingly compared as two ways of writing the self into history. Josephus is important to Aubigné not simply for his subject matter, as he was to Aubigné's contemporaries; he also provides an example of the historian as not only *scriptor* but *actor* too. The Jew and the Huguenot write the self into history through a constellation of the following related elements: near-death experience, betrayal, and prophecy.

Josephus gives what is probably the most complete account of siege warfare in antiquity. The great set-pieces in his *Jewish War* are sieges: above all that of Jerusalem, but also the conclusive later siege and mass suicide at Masada, as well as the earlier siege of Jotapata, which concerns Josephus in a special way. It concerns him because Josephus and Aubigné have this in common: they were actors in the events they wrote about.

As Josephus narrates his political and military career in the *Jewish War* and his *Autobiography*, he portrays himself as a moderate who was reluctantly drawn into the rebellion against Roman rule that swept across Palestine in the 60s. Once he had made that commitment, he was (still by his own account) a brave and resourceful commander. But his efforts had to be directed against Jewish factional rivals at least as much as against the Romans. The conclusion of his militancy came at the conclusion of the siege of Jotapata in Galilee,

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My references to *The Jewish War* are to book and sentence). *The Jewish War* was written in Aramaic, then translated into Greek; the other works were composed in Greek.

8 *Sa Vie à ses enfants*, ed. Gilbert Schrenck (Paris: Nizet, 1986).

9 For "le Bouc du desert" (the scapegoat from Lev. 16:8), see *Sa Vie à ses enfants*, 161. The first edition of *Les Tragiques* (1616) features a title page with no author's name other than the initials L. B. D. D.

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where he commanded. When at the end of a long and heroic Jewish resistance the Romans finally entered the city, Josephus escaped into an extensive network of underground passages. He found there a quantity of fellow Jews. When the Romans tried to negotiate his personal surrender and guaranteed his safety, his companions declared that they preferred mass suicide and would force Josephus to die along with them. Faced with this dilemma, the historian says he pretended to accept the collective suicide and proposed a process of drawing straws to determine who would kill whom. By a stroke of good luck that strains credibility, Josephus and one other man remained after all the rest had slain each other. He had little difficulty convincing his fellow survivor that they should then both give themselves up to the Romans (*La Guerre des Juifs*, 3:340–98).[10]

There remained the question of what would happen to him at the hands of the Romans. Although as an important Jewish commander he ran some risk, Josephus saved himself through prophecy. He told the commanding general, Vespasian, that Vespasian would become emperor (*La Guerre des Juifs*, 3:399–408). Before long this came about, and Josephus portrays himself as moving around in a privileged position with the Romans for the rest of the campaign. Accompanying the new commander, Vespasian's son Titus, Josephus tried to convince the Jews to give in to the inevitable victory of Roman power. He was thus in a position to provoke suspicion on both sides: the Jews understandably considered him a traitor, but in addition the Roman troops suspected him of collusion with his countrymen (*Autobiographie*, 416). During the long siege of Jerusalem, he chose a position both symbolic and practical: he would place himself within earshot of the city walls but outside of missile range, to harangue the Jewish defenders (*La Guerre des Juifs*, 5:362). When the Romans took the city and razed it to the ground, the destruction is represented as not so much the doing of the Roman troops as of the Zealots who had held the city in a reign of terror. Titus, whom Josephus systematically whitewashes throughout his History, is portrayed as the reluctant executor of what the worst of the Jews brought down upon a whole people.

The third great siege episode, at the desert fortress of Masada, culminates in a mass suicide (or mutual slaughter) that matches what Josephus proposed beneath Jotapata, except that at Masada there are no survivors. None, that is, except two women who emerge to give the Romans an account of the catastrophe. It is thanks to them that Josephus can report the speech of the Jewish leader Eleazar, who eloquently persuaded self-destruction (*Jewish*

10 If Josephus's straw was not drawn, he attributes it to either good fortune (*tuchē*) or divine providence (*pronoia*).

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War, 7:340–88). His harangue is the mirror image of the one pronounced by Josephus at Jotapata (*La Guerre des Juifs*, 3.362–82), and the *Sicarius* Eleazar in his *jusqu'au-boutisme* appears as an anti-Josephus. The historian emphasizes the proximity of bravery to madness, suggesting from his own experience that someone trying to separate reasoned courage from suicidal folly is bound to be considered a traitor.

More than most historians, the overarching historical vision of Josephus is intimately connected to the personal destiny he narrates. The subterranean chamber beneath Jotapata, which becomes a literal tomb for nearly all his companions, for Josephus is a womb from which he is reborn to a new incarnation and a new loyalty. After his rebirth, Joseph ben Matthias is "re-baptized" with a name that expresses his new, philo-Roman identity. That name—Titus Flavius Josephus—includes the Roman praenomen and nomen belonging to the father and son, his "godfathers," who were successive emperors: both of them named Titus Flavius Vespasianus (known respectively as Vespasian and Titus). Only the Jewish "Joseph" is retained in the position of cognomen to recall his origin. The rebirth and renaming of Josephus resemble the birth and naming of Agrippa d'Aubigné. As the latter tells at the beginning of *Sa Vie*, his birth was a crisis that required a paternal choice between the life of the mother and the life of the son; as a consequence, "il fut nommé Agrippa (comme *aegre partus*)" (50). Both births are made possible only by the death of others, and it is that uneasy status that is perpetuated by the names imposed.

Read politically as well as personally, the caves of Jotapata provide the setting for an essential betrayal, which Josephus then dedicates his history to defending. Pierre Vidal-Naquet entitled his classic essay on Josephus "Du bon usage de la trahison."[11] What Vidal-Naquet does is provide a better understanding of the complex and contradictory situation in first-century Roman Palestine. With a fuller picture of, in particular, Jewish messianic movements in their opposition to Roman imperialism, it is possible not to take Josephus's account at face value. But the broader perspective also has more radical implications. Looking back some years later in his autobiography at his work on Josephus, Vidal-Naquet says explicitly, "seule la trahison avait permis à Josèphe d'écrire l'histoire" ["betrayal alone had made it possible for Josephus to write history"].[12] "Betrayal" provided Josephus with his literary language, his audi-

11 Vidal-Naquet, "Du bon usage de la trahison," 7–115. Arnaldo Momigliano in his important introduction, entitled "Ciò che Flavio Giuseppe non vide," to the Italian translation of Vidal-Naquet's essay (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1980), 21, suggests that the title alludes to Pascal's *Prière pour demander à Dieu le bon usage des maladies*.

12 Vidal-Naquet, *Mémoires*, 2 vols. (Paris: Seuil, 2007), 2:274.

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ence, and his message: his insistence on Roman destiny and his praise of Titus are in fact a self-defense. His *apologia pro Roma* is at the same time an *apologia pro vita sua*.

So the heritage of Josephus does not lie only in the story of the first-century disaster of Judaism (important though that is), which he tells more vividly than anyone else. It lies also in the presence of the historical writer as a historical actor, and in a particularly troubling form: the conjunction between betrayal and historiography. Such a conjunction may call to mind other historians. Polybius, for example, the Achaean statesman who was deported as a hostage to Italy, then ended up as the teacher and companion of Scipio Africanus the Younger and as the writer of a universal history showing the providential nature of Roman hegemony.[13] Or Philippe de Commynes, whose incisive portraits of Charles le Téméraire of Burgundy and Louis XI of France no doubt owe much to the fact that he began his career in the service of Charles, whom he eventually abandoned in favor of the French king.[14]

Now, if anyone embodies the co-presence of actor and writer, it is Agrippa d'Aubigné. Not only is he himself present, with or without a mask, throughout the considerable variety of his works; he puts himself on stage in a particularly interesting way in his historical writing. Throughout his massive *Histoire universelle* the historian as actor appears under a multiplicity of names: his own, Aubigné, but also "un Escuyer," "un Lieutenant," "un Maistre de camp," "le Gouverneur," "un gentilhomme," as well as the frequent use of the Hebrew letter aleph: א.[15] The many clarifications in *Sa Vie à ses enfants* show even more just how much and in what varied ways Aubigné is present in his history.

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13 See, for example, François Hartog, *Évidence de l'histoire. Ce que voient les historiens* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2005), 95–96.

14 Jean Dufournet calls Commynes's *Mémoires* an "anthologie de la trahison" (quoted by Nadine Kuperty-Tsur, *Se dire à la Renaissance. Les Mémoires au XVI^e siècle* [Paris: J. Vrin, 1997], 153).

15 The aleph is inserted in the second edition of the *Histoire universelle* (1626), and is explained in the prefatory text "L'Imprimeur au lecteur" (1:19). Unfortunately, the modern editor Thierry has replaced the aleph with (A). The Hebrew letter also turns up in other texts by Aubigné, both manuscript (*Pages inédites de Théodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné*, ed. Pierre-Paul Plan [Geneva: Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, 1945], 138) and printed (*Petites œuvres meslees* [Geneva: Pierre Aubert, 1630], [¶ v v], 175—missing, however, from the critical edition, *Petites Œuvres meslees*, ed. Véronique Ferrer [Paris: H. Champion, 2004]). For some possible explanations of Aubigné's use of aleph, none conclusive, see Nadine Kuperty-Tsur, "De l'*Histoire universelle* à *Sa Vie à ses enfants*: comment s'inscrire dans l'histoire," *Albineana* 19 (2007), 173–91.

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The reader of *Les Tragiques* knows how the vision that became that poem was granted to the poet while he lay unconscious and close to death. Aubigné specifies the circumstances in *Sa Vie* (79–80) and in *Les Tragiques* itself (5.1195–1206, 1417–30): in 1572, attacked and seriously wounded in Beauce, he rides to the château of Talcy to die in the arms of his beloved Diane Salviati. He does not die, and she does not long remain his beloved, but in his coma he has a vision of contemporary and future events that will eventually become *Les Tragiques*. It is when he is almost killed by the events that will be his main subject that he finds the means to write them: first in the form of vision, then in actual literary form. Later, near-fatal wounds lead directly to the beginning of the composition of the great poem at Castel-Jaloux (*Histoire universelle*, 5:227; *Sa Vie à ses enfants*, 103).

Moreover, Aubigné's autobiography is full of brushes with death. Starting with the hazardous birth that supposedly gave him his name, through a series of what might be called psychosomatic crises in his childhood and youth, to the wartime dangers that a military daredevil is bound to encounter, to the conspiracies that his inconstant son Constant attempted against him in his old age, it is no wonder that the final word of *Sa Vie* is "mort."

With respect to historiography in particular, an image featured in his *Histoire universelle* puts the historian in a memorable position: "Quand la verité met le poignard à la gorge, il fault bayser sa main blanche, quoyque tachee de notre sang" (*Histoire universelle*, 10:25. Cf. *Les Tragiques* 2.171–76) ["When Truth puts a dagger to our throat, we must kiss her white hand, stained though it be with our blood"]. Apart from its extraordinary union of mortal danger with sexual pleasure, what the image also holds is the suspicion of betrayal. (Or even revenge for past betrayal, since the white hand already has blood on it.) Why else would Truth hold a dagger to the historian's throat if she did not fear that he would dishonor her, or already had?

Betrayal is, of course, a difficult term and concept to pin down. At the crucial moment in the cavern of Jotapata, Josephus explicitly rejects the idea that he has acted as a traitor (*prodotēs*), claiming instead that he is acting as a servant (*diakonos*) of God (*La Guerre des Juifs*, 3:354). His reasoning is that, since God has decided to submit the Jewish people to the Romans, since Fortune (*tuchē*) has entirely shifted in the Romans' favor, he understands that further resistance would be resistance to the divine will. Nevertheless, according to the criteria of that time, a military leader who changed sides and remained present in Titus's army could hardly be considered anything other than a traitor (Vidal-Naquet, "Du bon usage de la trahison," 30).

And Aubigné? On the one hand, his works are full of palinode where he flamboyantly voices regret for past sins. He rejects the errors of youth, embodied

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by the love poetry of *Le Printemps*, as his higher literary vocation becomes apparent (*Les Tragiques* and the religious poetry of *L'Hiver*).[16] And then, in *Sa Vie*, soon after the account of his birth trauma, the young Aubigné first enters the public sphere when with his father he sees the Amboise conspirators strung up for punishment (for *lèse-majesté*). His father commands his eight-year-old son to avenge those martyrs to the Cause; "si tu t'y espargnes tu auras ma malediction" (*Sa Vie à ses enfants*, 52) ["If you spare yourself you will have my curse"]. Any shortcoming in this life-long and rather open-ended mission could be, and was, felt as a kind of betrayal. But what about the more literal sense of betrayal as the abandonment of one side to help the other? Aubigné, the firmest of "the Firm," who had no good words for anyone who compromised, who wrote scathingly for half a century of those who had been corrupted by money, or power, or peace; surely Agrippa d'Aubigné is the last who could be accused of betrayal in that sense?

And yet…. In both the *Histoire universelle* and *Sa Vie* he tells somewhat murkily of a period from 1573 to 1576 when he was present at court and served in the Catholic army. His ostensible reason for being there was the service of Henri de Navarre. Aubigné also asks the reader to believe that he maintained two successive goals: first to prevent the capture of the Protestant commander Gabriel de Montgomery (*Sa Vie à ses enfants*, 82), then to help plan and execute Henri's escape from the Catholic court. But during that long period he seems to have gone far beyond the call of duty, with regard to both participation in life at court and his military service. That service included the campaign in Normandy with Catholic troops led by the royalist Matignon that led to Montgomery's capture, then later participation in the taking of Archicourt in eastern France, where Aubigné says he was the first to enter, as well as the battle of Dormans, where Catholic troops (Aubigné among them) defeated a force that included both French Protestants and German mercenaries (*Sa Vie à ses enfants*, 84).[17] By this time he was fighting in the army commanded by Henri de Guise and acquiring a cordial familiarity with "le Balafré." (This was the campaign in which the Duke, that darling of Catholic extremists, received the scar that gave him his nickname.)

16 See, for example, *Les Tragiques*, Préface vv. 55–84; "L'Hiver" (*Petites Œuvres meslees*, 148).

17 Also, *Histoire universelle*, 4:340–41, where he notes that a dust cloud filled the air so that "nous ne pusmes […] discerner une croix blanche d'avec l'escharpe blanche et jaune" ["we could not tell the difference between a white cross and the white and yellow sash"]; an uncertainty of vision that matches the uncertainty of who is really on which side.

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In his accounts Aubigné repeats several times that he swore no oath and so was not guilty of fraud; this seems to have been the essential point for him, although it may seem a bit sophistical to his reader. According to the *Histoire universelle*, when he was first invited to help Montgomery escape from a siege Aubigné resisted, "comme estant opiniastre huguenot" ["being a stubborn Protestant"]. But he was reassured, by whom is not clear: "mais on lui apprit que ne prestant point de serment il pouvoit sans reproche laisser penser à ses ennemis ce qu'ils vouloyent, et estre dedans leur armee comme ennemi, mesmement s'il se pouvoit garder de prononcer paroles desrogeantes à ce qu'il estoit" (*Histoire universelle*, 4:210–11) ["but he was shown that, since he had sworn no oath, he could blamelessly let his enemies think what they wanted and remain in their army as an enemy, especially if he could avoid uttering words contradicting what he was"]. What he was: a Protestant, that is, in the midst of the enemy army. Here the key, for Aubigné's conscience, is a verbal one, and doubly so. He was enrolled with Catholic troops, but had taken no oath. To that silence is added another, the requirement that he "utter no words contradicting (or betraying) what he was."

Evidently he considered himself a double agent, appearing to serve the Catholic cause (and serving it in fact as a combatant) while actually awaiting a chance to serve the Protestant cause: that is, a chance to help Montgomery to escape (where he failed), or Henri de Navarre (where he succeeded).

When Montgomery declines to be saved, is captured, and is taken to Paris, where he will be executed, Aubigné makes a point about what was promised to the prisoner. In contradiction to some historians, he says that Montgomery was never promised safety when he surrendered, and so was not betrayed when he was sent to his death. Says the historian, "il n'y a eu que trop de perfidies en France sans en inventer" (*Histoire universelle*, 4:213) ["there have already been enough betrayals in France without imagining more"]. As any reader of Aubigné or other historians quickly sees, a recurring theme during the Wars of Religion, centered as they were on towns and cities that were either besieged or attempted by surprise, is the maintenance or the violation of terms—terms of capitulation or of conspiracy. (Of course, this is not particular to the Wars of Religion.) The promise, the oath, the treaty: all performative speech acts, and all involving the possibility of illusion and fraud as matters of life and death.

In *Sa Vie*, Aubigné tells anecdotes about his time at the royal court in and around Paris. His tone does not lack a certain pride in his accomplishments. It is hard to believe that this is the same man who wrote the merciless anti-court satire of "Princes," the second book of *Les Tragiques*. Whether engaging in battles of wit with court ladies, practicing the violent recreations of princely favorites (including the loathed *mignons*), or writing a theatrical spectacle for

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festive occasions (*Circé*), the picture given by the autobiographical Aubigné is of someone highly successful at court.[18] It should be remembered that all this takes place during the almost immediate aftermath of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. What the poet of *Les Tragiques* (begun only a few years later) would have seen all around him was murderers. What did the future historiographer and autobiographer see?

The sense that this was a special, exceptional period even carries over to the realm of narrative voice. When telling of this period in the *Histoire universelle*, Aubigné departs from his usual practice of referring to himself in the third person. With regard to his acquaintance with Charles IX, he says, "J'entrai en sa familiarité" (*Histoire universelle*, 4:220) ["I began a close personal relationship with him"]. He also mentions in the first person his presence at the execution in Paris of Montgomery (*Histoire universelle*, 4:226). While normally he refers in the first person only to the historian as *scriptor*, in these passages Aubigné as *actor* seems to refuse the usual discursive distance of the third person.

As to prophecy, a broad and complex area of activity that kept Aubigné busy throughout his career, I will not pretend to do it justice here, particularly since it has already received critical attention.[19] Two examples of prophecy are relevant to this context. The first is the most famous example of what Aubigné calls an *apophétie*: that is, an utterance that functions as a prophecy within the narrative, but only because the text was written after the event it claims to predict (*Les Tragiques*, "Avis au lecteur," 228–29). The example I mean is the prediction of the assassination of Henri IV, repeated obsessively in various texts—autobiographical, historical, poetic, and satiric texts.[20] It takes the form of prophecy because it claims knowledge of God's plan, and in particular of God's punishment of Henri's apostasy. In this it is the contrary of Josephus's prediction to Vespasian, where divine favor provides the key to the general's imperial destiny, and thus to the survival of the historian.

The other example requires a return to the twin comas, at Talcy and at Castel-Jaloux, that are associated with the origin of *Les Tragiques*. In the version of the

18 The case of *Circé*, of which he boasts more than once, is especially interesting, with its motif of shifting shapes, if not completely clear. See *Sa Vie à ses enfants*, 85; *Histoire universelle*, 7:108–109; Pierre de L'Estoile, *Registre-Journal du règne de Henri III*, 6 vols., eds. Madeleine Lazard and Gilbert Schrenck (Geneva: Droz, 1992–2003), 3:166.

19 See especially Marguerite Soulié, *L'Inspiration biblique dans la poésie religieuse d'Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), and Samuel Junod, *Agrippa d'Aubigné ou les misères du prophète* (Geneva: Droz, 2008).

20 *Sa Vie à ses enfants*, 158; *Histoire universelle*, 9:96, 9:402; *Confession catholique du Sieur de Sancy* (Aubigné, *Œuvres*, eds. Henri Weber et al. [Paris: Gallimard-Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1969], 652); *Les Tragiques*, Préface vv. 325–30; *Discours par stances* (*Œuvres*, 350).

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Talcy episode found in that poem, the poet makes himself the witness of celestial pictures prefiguring the conflicts of contemporary history (*Les Tragiques* 5.1195–1206, and perhaps 1161–74). These too are *apophéties*, since what is future for the poet-as-character in 1572 is the past for the poet publishing in 1616. And what is true of visionary ekphrasis in *Les Tragiques* is also true for universal history: the events of this world can only be seen together, understood, and narrated from a proximity to death and the radically "outsider" status that comes with it.

What is the design that Aubigné gives to his autobiographical myth? The two episodes that he recalls, with their union of near-death experience with literary creation, neatly bracket the period of Aubigné's involvement at court and service in the Catholic army. The period of his "betrayal," perhaps, or of his "compromised position." In this way, the shape of the narrated life raises questions, perhaps insoluble questions, about the conjunction between being a historical actor, changing sides, and writing about it all. As if the embrace of Truth could not be separated from a stain of guilt. As if one could not save one's own life, or immortalize oneself textually, except at the cost of other lives. Surely the learned Flavius Josephus could teach such lessons with real authority.

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CHAPTER 15

"The Difficulty is to Judge Well": Jean de la Taille, Deceptive Astrologer (*Le Blason des pierres précieuses* and *La Géomance abrégée*, 1574)

Corinne Noirot

Much like Montaigne, although removed from influential circles, Jean de la Taille is one of those erudite non-courtier aristocrats, those grief-stricken, quizzical humanists whose voice conveys the philosophical and political instability experienced in the late sixteenth century. How to navigate life in the long-lasting turmoil of the French Religious Wars, both as an individual and a community? How to preserve oneself from the tragic plight met by many in those times, or at least from charges of "atheism" or "heresy" issued by repressive authorities? How to re-energize the disempowered French nobility, especially Huguenot-leaning or suspect due to unorthodox beliefs? Those questions, involving issues of caution and interpretation, are partly answered, although in oblique ways, by Jean de la Taille in the two brief pseudo-astrological pamphlets he published in one volume in 1574: *La Géomance abrégée* and *Le Blason des pierres précieuses*.[1] The first describes the art of geomancy, a pen-on-paper divinatory method that can be mastered individually, and the second, the active properties of precious stones and minerals, according to their corresponding stars or planets.

While La Taille apparently creates two digests directed at an aristocratic audience, imitating the work of Cristoforo Cattaneo among other humanist scholars, the specific properties of gemstones and of purportedly prognostic "figures of geomancy" he thus brings to light are presented in specific and selective ways. This suggests a different kind of endeavor beyond the merely

1 Jean de la Taille, *Œuvres*, ed. René de Maulde, 2 vols. [Paris: 1878–82; 4 vols.] (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1968). Hereafter, *Œuvres* I, II, III, and IV. René de Maulde is the sole modern editor. We will refer to his 1878–82 edition, which is incomplete for these two pamphlets, together with a (complete) 1574 edition consulted at Harvard University's Houghton Library, generous supporter of the present research through a Katharine F. Pantzer Jr. Fellowship: *La Geomance abregee de Jean de la Taille de Bondaroy, gentil-homme de Beauce. Pour sçauoir les choses passees, presentes, & futures. Ensemble le Blason des pierres precieuses, contenant leurs vertus & proprietez* (Paris: Lucas Breyer, 1574).

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didactic.[2] These concise self-help books dramatize the mediated influence of celestial bodies on humanity by way of discreet but pervasive exegetical symbols: stones, stars, and figures with meanings to decipher. La Taille does not innovate in this way, since, in continuity with medieval allegoresis, astrological discourse had become syncretic in the Renaissance, especially under Neoplatonic influence.[3] Yet in the *Blason des pierres* and the *Géomance*, those selective Christian symbols aim at warning and comforting distraught readers by training their *judgment*—noble and fallible, as is free will—without leading them to feel either disempowered or over-confident. This is what this article seeks to show, even though audience and intent remain problematic when dealing with allusive texts.

La Taille's playful and enigmatic style, as I intend to show, renders the act of assessing astrological influences—traditionally linked to decision-making, particularly in medicine and politics—akin to interpreting a literary or dramatic text. Informed and ludic interpretation allows individuals to pause and reflect, adjust their response, and take appropriate action in a given situation. Behind the explicit hermeneutic intent, the author's ethical and pragmatic

2 Christofe Cattan [Cristoforo Cattaneo]. *La Géomance du seigneur Christofe de Cattan, gentilhomme genevoys. Livre non moins plaisant et recréatif, que d'ingénieuse invention, pour sçavoir toutes choses, présentes, passées et à advenir. Avec la Roue de Pythagoras. Le tout corrigé, augmenté et mis en lumière par Gabriel Du Préau*, trans. Gabriel Dupréau (Paris: Gilles Gilles, 1558).

3 See, for instance, Anthony Grafton, "Humanism, Magic, and Science," in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, eds. A. Goodman and A. MacKay (London: Longman, 1990), 99–117. Astrology, seen as an antique science and as such widely popular, including amidst elite political circles (114–15), survived criticism, partly due to the belief in Providence and a creator speaking through stars and planets, themselves considered living beings (108). Astrology, which, in Tommaso Campanella's 1602 *City of the Sun*, could be idealized as a "unifying science" (106) describing an organic cosmos, was met with panic, faith, or skepticism in chaotic times, such as Savonarola's Florence or the French Wars of Religion. It became increasingly dubious that the secrets of nature could be unveiled and that the wise man, turned *magus* (110–13), could "dra[w] down the power of the stars through study and incantation" (101). Since Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94), astrology and magic had moreover been criticized as anti-Christian practices (115). In this context, La Taille discreetly lays bare the "anxieties about causality" (112) that led to the dissemination of reassuring Hermetic and Neo-Platonic fictions justifying magical and astrological practices. For more sources and information on Christian humanism and magic, with astrological discourse as a pivot, see the very learned introduction to Evelien Chayes, *L'Eloquence des pierres précieuses. De Marbode de Rennes à Alard d'Amsterdam et Remy Belleau. Sur quelques lapidaires du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2010).

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agenda of paradoxical empowerment is influenced by humanism, figurative exegesis, and Christian skepticism.

Choosing the right course of action requires understanding all factors and actors at play. *Le Blason des pierres* provides caveats and aims at self-protection; and *La Géomance abrégée* teaches a comforting practice supposed to help make practical decisions. The crucial element in the art of geomancy is literally a good "judge" (*le Juge*), as the figure of the player or "Querent" is explicitly called. Even with theoretical expertise, success is not guaranteed; the difficulty is to judge well, to assess the situation properly: "la difficulté gist de savoir bien juger" (*Géomance*, 7r) ["the difficulty lies in knowing how to judge well"].[4] La Taille showcases individual judgment through the selection of therapeutic gemstones (*pierres*) and the interpretation of stylized stars and figures drawn on paper (*géomance*), an enterprise which ultimately has little to do with astrological erudition. Beyond providing aristocratic entertainment and Christian humanist advice, a more daring, if partly ambiguous intent resonates in the lexis and the pragmatic framework chosen. The vital need for good judgment becomes apparent in a few carefully developed passages, and the audience is solicited. Who is it then that the text seeks to entertain, educate, comfort, or mobilize? As do many of La Taille's works, these pseudo-astrological pamphlets address both a wider (aristocratic) audience and a smaller intellectual circle able to decode the allusive content. The author's pragmatic and cautionary endeavor in the *Blason* and *Géomance* is best understood by successively examining the dedicatees, explicitly regarded as good judges, the Christian symbolism of stones in the *Blason*, and the seemingly cryptic discourse dealing with the question of self-preservation.

The Dedicatees as Good Judges

The prose *Blason* is dedicated to Marie de Clèves, Princesse de Condé, while Marguerite de Valois—herself by name a pearl (*margarita*)—is the noble

4 See also, near the end of the *Géomance*: "je ne me suis aidé que de moymesmes, principalement à monstrer l'art de savoir bien juger la Figure (ce qui et le plus difficile)" (50v) ["I only relied on myself, chiefly to teach the art of knowing how to assess the Figure properly (which is the hardest part)"]. All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated. Such language recalls medieval exegesis and certain metaphors used to describe its methodology—for example, Origen, who in *On Principles* theorized figurative interpretation, stating that the first stage of reading implies encountering "stumbling blocks" before entering a web of complex meaning and figuration.

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recipient of the appended verse "Blason" and the bouquet of poems that accompany it. The dedicatee of the *Géomance*, Antoine de Monchy, Sieur de Senarpont, is presented as a brother in arms and a benefactor, and the style is closer to a familiar epistle. Personal address is occasionally echoed in the body of the pamphlets, wherein certain stylistic and structural choices signal allusiveness and authorial distanciation, inviting us to caution. Why entrust these noble dedicatees in particular with astrological knowledge, against Christian humanist condemnation of divination?

Although La Taille's works all demonstrate a great power of assimilation, and brevity befits all didactic genres, the terse, concise style adopted (incidentally called *style lapidaire* in French) first signals that the work's intent might exceed mere educational or commercial interests. As in Cattaneo's translated *Géomance* and most humanist publications involving magic, the discourse is cautionary.[5] The author clearly distances himself from the occult beliefs and methods he purportedly sets out to teach us. Synthetic considerations in the form of summaries, for instance, alternate with elaborate developments on a limited number of gemstones. Such apparent organizational sloppiness has led many critics to regard those texts as inane—as the self-conscious author himself anticipated (f. iv r, quoted below). The sole editor of La Taille's complete works, René de Maulde, who ironically illustrates the lack of judgment the *Géomance* warns us against, dismissed it along with the *Blason des pierres* as frivolous and neglected to fully reproduce either in his edition.[6] Yet the book possesses an enigmatic dimension calling for interpretation. If La Taille is not merely making advanced knowledge available to a broader aristocratic audience, what is concealed or obliquely conveyed by the occult matter seemingly taught to curious aristocrats?

Why get the dedicatees interested in geomancy and gemology? A widespread taste for the occult coexisted with various condemnations of magic and astrology in the sixteenth century. Humanist thinkers, following Augustine and other Church Fathers, accepted astrology only as long as its unreliability was

5 See Jean Céard, "Jeu et divination à la Renaissance," in *Les Jeux à la Renaissance: actes du XXIII^e colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, juillet 1980*, eds. Philippe Ariès and Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris: Vrin, 1982), 405–18.

6 "Cette préface et la croyance limitée dont fait profession l'auteur nous dispensent peut-être d'insister sur le corps de l'ouvrage" (*Œuvres* III, cci) ["This preface, along with the limited belief professed by the author, lead us not to reproduce the work itself"]; "Comme ces deux blasons ne sont pas autre chose que la dissertation mise en vers, nous nous bornons à les reproduire" (*Œuvres* III, ccvi) ["Since these two *blasons* are but verse adaptations of the prose pamphlet, we chose to reproduce them alone"].

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recognized and the role of free will was maintained, versus sheer astral determinism or demonic temptations. La Taille himself warns against black magic in the satirical epigrams published with the *Blason* and *Géomance* and in two of his plays (*Saül le furieux*, with its unsettling "Pythonisse," and *Le Négromant*, with its title charlatan). So do both his main model Cattaneo, via his translator Dupréau, and Rabelais, who satirizes divination in the character of Her Trippa.[7] Without explicitly condoning or condemning the art, La Taille insists on the individual qualities necessary to even begin to interpret astrological predictions. His dedicatees, who happened to be known for favoring reformist ideas, are accordingly praised as possessing good judgment.

Marie de Clèves, dedicatee of the prose *Blason des pierres*—sister to Henriette de Clèves, to whom La Taille dedicated his first tragedy and the prefatory treatise attached to it, *De l'art de la tragédie*—was originally the mistress of Henri, Duc d'Anjou, future Henri III. She wound up marrying Henri de Bourbon-Condé, a Huguenot leader, a few days before the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in August 1572. She subsequently had to abjure her faith, and she died after giving birth, soon after the *Blason* was published. (In truth, La Taille *never* had much luck with the fate of his patrons; all passed away or suffered disgrace at a faster pace than our author could publish.) Deferential familiarity between the author and the princess is hinted at: "en l'un de vos Chasteaux" (*Blason*, 12r) ["in one of your castles"]. And her discerning taste for gemstones is noted, as we shall soon remark, making her a good judge. An even higher degree of familiarity exists between La Taille and the *Géomance*'s male dedicatee, Antoine de Monchy, Sieur de Senarpont, whose family and *clientèle* were connected to Marie de Clèves through the Bourbon-Condé.[8]

La Taille and Senarpont allegedly met in a battalion of the royal cavalry—"sous une Cornette" (iii r) ["under a cavalry standard"]—led by Senarpont, then

7 François Rabelais, *Le Tiers Livre*, chap. 25. See also Jean Céard, *La Nature et les prodiges: L'Insolite au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1996), 145–49.

8 Jean de Monchy-Senarpont was lieutenant-general of Picardy during the Wars of Religion. Protestant-leaning but loyal to the Crown, he was instrumental in the siege of Calais. Both Henri II and Catherine de' Medici spoke highly of him. He likely joined the army led by the prince de Condé like La Taille, in 1568–70, according to Tatham A. Daley, *Jean de la Taille (1522–1608): Etude historique et littéraire* [Paris, 1934] (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1998), 57, who follows De Maulde on that ("Note sur le seigneur de Sénarpont, à qui est dédiée la *Géomance*," ccxviii–ccxx). Connected to Antoine de Bourbon and Louis de Bourbon-Condé, fellow Huguenot, he was protected by the king during the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. Senarpont is mentioned several times in René de Belleval, *Les Derniers Valois: François II, Charles IX, Henri III* (Paris: H. Vivien, 1900). Also see Catherine de' Medici's letters, which show Senarpont as a loyal servant of the Crown at least until 1568.

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captain, in Picardy. Their close friendship, "durant les deux Ans derniers de nostre Guerre-civille" (*Géomance*, iii r) ["during the last two years of our Civil War"], likely dates to 1568–70, i.e., the period before Condé was killed, the Edict of Saint Germain ended the Third War of Religion, and La Taille retired from military life. Confessional lines, chosen or imposed, were becoming more constraining then, and even more so at the time of publication.[9] Senarpont was known as a Protestant-leaning aristocrat faithfully serving the King, at least until 1568. Whereas the *Blason* reverently praises potential patronesses (Marie and Marguerite), a tone of conniving humor shapes the address to Senarpont, chosen as a dedicatee on the basis of a "free" (*franche*, meaning unrestricted, unconditional) friendship caused by the "Stars"—"ta franche Amitié (causée par les Astres)" (*Géomance*, iii v). This is a humorous oxymoron, since the notions of free will and astrological determinism unambiguously clash with one another. Qualified statements of that sort remind the reader that astrology deals solely with *appearances* as opposed to realities (as per its etymology), and thus its causal assumptions and predictions must be taken with a grain of salt.[10] Additionally, as the author admits facetiously, publishing an art of geomancy seems even more ludicrous after fighting bravely as a soldier and publishing ambitious works as a poet:

> Je sçay qu'en voyant ceste mienne Geomance tu te gaudiras, ou t'émerveilleras de moy, qui (ayant parfait & publié plusieurs Tragedies, & Commedies, & autre Poëmes, & suivy les Muses, & les Armes jusques à faire profession presque des unes, & preuve des autres, comme tu sçays) me rue maintenant sur l'Astrologie. Mais quoy? mon Esprit ne peult estre non plus en repos que le Ciel dont il est issu, puis que ma Fortune, ou mon Destin, ou mon desastre, ou plutost l'Ignorance des Grands, ne permettent que je soys employé en meilleurs affaires. À Dieu. (iv r)

9 The fact that confessional lines were becoming more rigid and the pressure to choose harder and harder to escape after 1568–72 is underscored by Thierry Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome ni Genève. Des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1997).

10 Astrology was popular at court and in Neoplatonic circles, only gradually losing ground in theological and scientific milieux thanks to the progress made by astronomy, attached to real objects and phenomena, as opposed to discourses on the appearances of things, which *astrology* etymologically means (as underscored by Guillaume de Conches in his *De Philosophia mundi* in the twelfth century). See Chayes's introduction to *L'Eloquence des pierres précieuses* and Grafton, "Humanism, Magic, and Science."

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> [I know that, seeing this Geomancy of mine you will mock me, you will marvel at the fact that I, who—having completed and published several tragedies, comedies, other poems, and followed the Muses and the Arms to the point of becoming almost an expert at one and proficient in the other, as you know—now rush to tackle Astrology. But hey, my mind can be no less restless than the heavens it came from, since my fortune, or my destiny, or my disaster, or rather, the ignorance of the Great, keeps me from being better employed. Adieu.]

It all boils down to a lack of patronage, ironically attributed to the author's "disaster" (*désastre*, a melancholy *topos* meaning literally "ill-starred," victim of an astrological letdown). The latter could be blamed on Fortune, Destiny, or "the ignorance of the Great," who—this had become a commonplace complaint among French Pléiade poets—disregard poetry and knowledge. In this light, the improbable "inclination" the great captain showed toward La Taille is (again, facetiously) taken as directly demonstrating various sympathies and antipathies between the planets, as does the movement of tides, no less—as in Neoplatonic theory.[11] Indeed, the sentence, "Dont je ne veux (quant aux Hommes) alleguer autre preuve que toy-mesmes" (*Géomance*, iii r) ["I only have to show but yourself as evidence thereof (as regards Men)"] answers the rhetorical question: "But what on earth could cause the necessary inclination, of love & hate [between living creatures] if not the affection & disaffection that exists between [celestial bodies]" (iii r)? Skeptic alternatives (*or … or … or rather*) and distorted logic disqualify the mechanistic reasoning at play, resorting to commonplaces in lieu of good judgment, and the dedicatee is in on the joke. The anthropomorphic Neoplatonic "Chain of Being" (Chayes 13–14) reduced to projected drama amongst those planets named after Olympian gods further reveals what truly interests La Taille. He aims to expose human emotions and our need for connection and interpretation without resorting to deterministic infighting and affinities between planets; and without bypassing ancient knowledge altogether either, since humanist language binds together a kinship, a community. The wise banter at play in this preface echoes Rabelaisian

11 Tides are also said to follow lunar phases, themselves very orderly, but the statement again is skeptically qualified: "tant qu'il *semble* que la Mer soit attachée à la Lune, & aux Estoilles" (*Géomance*, iii r, emphasis mine) ["So much so that it *seems* that the Sea is attached to the Moon, & the Stars"]. See Montaigne's jabs at astro-meteorological authorities, mocked as "these people who perch astride the epicycle of Mercury"; since they can't even know themselves, "how should I believe them about the ebb and flow of the river Nile?" *Essays*, trans. Donald Frame (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1958), 481.

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prefaces and the trademark style of French intellectual Evangelism, recently analyzed in depth.[12]

In short, astrology is *not* condoned. Blind passions and assumptions are condemned. The numerous qualifiers and emphatic formulations applied to causality and emotionality we find concentrated in the falsely didactic letter to Senarpont clearly make it a cautionary preface to the *Géomance*. In its complex prose, it is worth quoting more extensively:

> Il n'y a rien si certain que Dieu souverain moteur de l'univers, a tout fait & composé des quatre Elements, & voulu (selon son Ordre estably au Monde) que tout conduit & gouverné par les astres, & (selon Aristote) par les Choses de la hault toutes les choses d'icy bas. Dequoy les plus brutaux se peuvent aysément apercevoir par le mouvement reglé de la Mer, qui conduitte par la Lune croist […] qui soudain se meult & change par chacun jour six heures haulte, & six heures basse, tant qu'il semble que la Mer soit attachée à la Lune, & aux Estoilles. Mais qui pourroit bien causer l'inclination necessaire, & d'amour, & de hayne entre les Hommes, les Bestes, les Oyseaux, voire entre les Plantes, si ce n'estoit l'amitié & inimitié que Saturne, Juppiter, le Soleil, Mars, Venus, Mercure, & la Lune, ont entre eux? Dont je ne veux (quant aux Hommes) alleguer autre preuve que toy-mesmes […] Voyla pourquoi en recognoissance de ta franche Amitié (causée par les Astres) je t'ay dedié ceste Geomance, pour t'y faire savourer les divers effects, & puissances, & t'élever peu à peu à la congnoissance de l'Astrologie, soubs la plaisante curiosité qu'on a de sçavoir ses Adventures. (iii r)
>
> [Nothing is as certain as the fact that God, sovereign mover of the Universe, created everything from the four Elements and wanted—following his Order established in the World—everything to be ruled and governed by the Stars, as well as (according to Aristotle) for Higher things to rule Lower things. Such [order] can the dullest minds easily understand through the regular motions of the sea, which, governed by the moon, grows […], which suddenly mutates and changes each day, high for six hours, and low for six hours, so much so that it seems like the sea is attached to the moon and stars. But what indeed could cause the necessary inclination of love and hate alike among Men, Animals, and Birds, even

12 See Blandine Perona, *Prosopopée et persona à la Renaissance* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013), and Nicolas Le Cadet, *L'Evangélisme fictionnel. Les* Livres *rabelaisiens, le* Cymbalum Mundi*,* L'Heptaméron (*1532–1552*) (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2010).

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> Plants, if not the affection and disaffection among Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon? I only have to show but yourself as evidence thereof (as regards Men) […]. Therefore, as a token of gratitude for your free and open friendship (caused by the stars), I give you this Geomancy, so that you may savor its diverse effects and powers, and gradually elevate your mind to the knowledge of Astrology, driven by the entertaining curiosity we [all] have to know what lies ahead.]

Commonly held beliefs concerning the Book of Nature and the "Chain of Being," i.e., correspondences between macrocosm and microcosm, are echoed here, but the tone is playfully conniving. Calling the reader's attention both to the thirst for meaning and reassurance and the risk of uncertain and abusive interpretations, as Rabelais did, La Taille opens up the field of possible interpretations, of signs in Nature as well as human words and actions. He concurrently questions the unilateral influence of the macrocosm over the microcosm, given our tendency to project ourselves into natural phenomena.[13] The final quoted sentence—"I give you this Geomancy …"—especially recalls the voice of Alcofribas, with words such as *savourer*, *t'élever peu à peu*, *curiosité*, and especially *Adventures*.[14] Thus recycling the language of *Prisca theologia* and its purported *altior sensus* in ludic ways points at Christian skepticism, French Evangelical fraternity and inquiry, and humanist criticism of prodigies and astrology, while assuming Senarpont is fully cognizant of such intellectual trends. As a result, geomancy sounds more like a game, a reflective exercise, and a way to mediate violent passions than a hazardous divinatory practice. At the same time, the reader's hermeneutic reflexes are brought to the fore.

Since hermeneutic skepticism and provocative double entendre are thus activated and the good judgment of the dedicatees praised in the prefatory material, what is there to *read* in the two pamphlets, if neither a gratuitous pastime nor a lesson in natural magic?

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13 Likewise, Rabelais subverts commonly received exegetical practices, univocal allegorical readings: "le monde extérieur et le monde mental sont saturés de sens, mais nul système ne saurait les domestiquer ni les totaliser" ["the outside world and the inner world are saturated with meaning, yet no system can ever tame or frame them completely"] (Michel Jeanneret, *Le Défi des signes. Rabelais et la crise de l'interprétation à la Renaissance* [Orléans: Paradigme, 1994], p. 99).

14 "Adventures" directly recalls Pantagruel's first impression of Panurge in François Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, chap. 9: "les adventures des gens curieulx" ["the adventures experienced by curious people"] are what left Panurge indigent and disheveled, or so the compassionate giant speculates (François Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Mireille Huchon [Paris: Gallimard, 1994], 246).

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Interpreting Symbols, among Which Living Stones

In his conclusion to the *Géomance*, the author insists that his book only *appears* difficult, as Aristotle himself thought he would sound to those he did not teach face-to-face:

> Je scay bien aussi qu'aucuns (dont l'esprit n'est capable que de Bœufs, & de charrue) me pourront pareillement reprocher, trouvant mon art trop difficile, que je me pourray vanter comme Aristote, d'avoir escrit si difficilement que mon livre ne sera publié qu'à ceux qui l'auront ouy sous moy: […] je m'asseure que tout Esprit gaillard & bien né, pourra facilement mordre en ce livre, Voire tout homme, pourveu qu'il n'eust l'esprit qu'honnestement grossier, & que j'eusse avec luy communiqué sans plus deux ou trois heures: Confessant en ce lieu avoir eu à l'improviste la premiere congnoissance, & pratique de cet Art par une jeune Damoiselle.
>
> *GÉOMANCE,* 50V

> [I do realize that some whose minds cannot look any further than oxen and ploughs will likely claim, finding my art too difficult, that, similar to Aristotle, I could boast that my writing is so difficult to read that my book shall only be released to those who will have heard me teach it: […] I am confident that any nimble mind of noble birth can easily benefit from this book, nay, any man, as long as his mind is merely rough around the edges and I am given the opportunity to confer with him for two or three hours; hereby confessing that I myself first became familiarized with and initiated into this Art in impromptu manner, through a young Lady.]

The work of interpretation is emphasized from beginning to end.[15] What to make, then, of the loaded words present in the paratext addressed to Marie de Clèves and especially Senarpont? The reader is steered toward symbolical interpretation and cryptic communication between "friends," or between lovers of precious, "living stones." We are invited to examine "stars," "wonders," and

15 On hermeneutic and linguistic inquiry in Renaissance humanism, see Jeanneret, *Le Défi des signes*; Marie-Luce Demonet, *Les Voix du signe: Nature et origine du langage à la Renaissance (1480–1580)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1992); Ian W. F. Maclean, *Interpretation and Meaning in the Renaissance: The Case of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Kathy Eden, *Hermeneutics and the Rhetorical Tradition. Chapters in the Ancient Legacy and Its Humanist Reception* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

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"figures," all actively loving, hating, hurting, healing, and potentially influencing the past and the future. Why so, exactly?

Both books can be read as discursive and practical consolations aimed at distraught aristocrats, especially those who suffered persecution or constantly feared accusation. The two books' efficacy is thus tied to what one might call *palliative play*, a comforting activity that fosters prudent empowerment. Individual curiosity and play—drawing geomantic figures on paper or testing the properties of turquoise, for instance—serve a pragmatic and therapeutic function in response to the existential angst of a scattered, dispossessed, bereft aristocracy, whose future and faith in Providence were obscured by endless civil wars. If their noble blood matters to the author, the readers' gender and confessional proclivities are secondary, if not inconsequential, even though the language betrays Evangelical or moderate Huguenot affinities. In the 1560s and 1570s, the French nobility did appear akin to those feuding stars and fragile stones that die and grieve and suffer travails, in a sort of reversed vitalism. The vitalist imagery of the *Blason des pierres* even flips around dialectically. If stones are like men, in traditional gemology, currently men are like stones. And they can be dead or living stones. The Christian resonance—Augustinian in tone, as we shall see, rather than strictly tied to the new orthodoxies of the century—is unmistakable (3r):

> Les pierres non seulement ont vie, mais aussi elles sont subjectes à nourriture, à maladie, vieillesse, & mort: Qu'ainsi ne soit on les voit quelques fois devenir palles, s'offusquer, & se ternir, jusques à perdre une partie de leur force, & vertu.
>
> [Not only are stones alive, but they also are affected by growth, sickness, old age, and death. As proof one only has to see them at times turn pale, or darken and tarnish, even lose their strength, and virtue.]

The idea is repeated in the closing verse "blason," dedicated to Marguerite, which adds words even more evocative of aggression and spiritual depletion, such as the general tendency to "languish" ("languissent," 13r), or the insistence on violation, on stones done wrong ("tort"). Spiritual dereliction as well as persecutions and executions are evoked. The threat of disease, and corruption by fire affecting the "green" stones especially—"vert" meaning young and novice in French—also resonates as loaded, fraught language in the poem:

> Non seulement elles ont vie
> Mais subjectes à maladie,

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Nourriture, vieillesse, & mort
Languissent la plus part, & mesmes,
S'offusquent, si on leur fait tort,
Se rouillent, & deviennent blésmes.
Les vertes plus sujectes sont
Au tort du feu qui les corrompt. (13r, ll. 41–48)

[Not only are they alive
But, prone to illness,
Growth, aging, and death.
Most languish, and even
Turn dark when slighted,
Turn rusty, and become most pale.
The green ones are more subject to
The offense of fire, which corrupts them.]

"Tort," a strong offense or violation, at best causes the stones to be altered in their complexion—to darken ("s'offusque[r]," in the etymological sense but also meaning "to take offense"), get rusty or pale—and at worst to be corrupted. This potentially alludes to the *skandalon* or "stumbling block," but the text does not promote that interpretive path, or any violent reaction.[16] No counter-offense is suggested, and La Taille insists on the fact that the altered stones are more alive because they are going through tribulations. The phrase "living stones" was absorbed into the Evangelical "ideolect," a linguistic phenomenon analyzed by Isabelle Garnier-Mathez; it was common among writers such as Rabelais, Marguerite de Navarre, and Des Périers.[17] As a Patristic

16 On incompatible notions of Christian virtue and scandal causing the polemic between Calvin and the Evangelicals, see Mathilde Bernard, "Par qui le scandale arrive-t-il? La querelle entre Calvin et les évangéliques," in *Le Temps des querelles*, eds. Jeanne-Marie Hostiou and Alain Viala, *Littératures classiques* 81 (2013), 25–35.

17 Isabelle Garnier-Mathez, *L'Epithète et la connivence. Écriture concertée chez les Évangéliques français (1523–1534)* (Geneva: Droz, 2005). Garnier-Mathez's findings are useful to make sense of La Taille's vocabulary and style. In her book, she studies Marguerite de Navarre's "Evangelical" network in the 1520s and 1530s (e.g., Lefèvre d'Étaples, Meigret, Farel, Marot). The hermeneutical benefit of understanding *Évangélique* codes, however, extends to the younger generation, who read them knowingly. In addition, Wanegffelen has shown that French Evangelical views survived well into the period of the religious wars. French Evangelicals, Garnier-Mathez contends, developed a community "ideolect," that is, a shared idiom with an ideologically charged lexicon. The latter favored axiologically polarized epithets ("opposition axiologique polarisée," 85) used in the context of

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metaphor for the spiritually fit among Christians, the phrase was also valued by Catholic writers such as Pierre de Ronsard and Rémy Belleau, author of a book of lapidary poetry, published in 1576, two years after the *Blason* and the *Géomance*, and likely influenced by La Taille.[18] Saint Augustine himself commented on Peter's words in relation to the Faithful in those terms. *Lapides vivi*, an ancient metaphor signifying the Spiritual Church, refers back to Peter himself, on whose name Jesus once was found punning; *Petros* in the Vulgate means "stone/rock," after the Greek Κηφάς (via Aramaic).[19] In 1 Peter 2:4ff., the apostle exhorts his addressees to build a temple that is also a living organism, for each stone joined to the corner stone (Christ) partakes of the source of all life (quoted in Plumpe, 9). Augustine underscored the work of communal building (Plumpe, 10)—a mission perceived by many as forgotten in La Taille's times, between confessional divisions, interfamilial violence, and civil wars. Faithful building stones had been altered or damaged, and scattered by force.

Even under such dismal circumstances, La Taille says at the end of his handbook, many precious stones have been spotted in Marie de Clèves's castles, giving her a chance to "experience" them firsthand: "veu le riche nombre d'icelles qu'en vostre presence j'ay peu veoir quelquefois en l'un de vos Chasteaux" (*Blason*, 12r) ["Given how many of those I once had the opportunity to see in your very presence in one of your Castles"].[20] This personal address and recollection stands out, given the large proportion of content imitated from Cattaneo and others. And the emphasis on a powerful bejeweled lady suggests that the author obliquely praises his dedicatee as the *mulier fortis* of Proverbs 31:10; decked out with precious living stones, the latter sometimes allegorizes prudence or wisdom. "Your Castles" might additionally refer to symbolic buildings or refuges for the spiritual church. In the fourth century, the *living stones* became a figure of the elect, often "turned into stars" in early Christian poetry (Plumpe, 11). And of course one cannot help but recall chapter 6 of the *Tiers*

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rhetorical amplification. *Vrai* (true), [*Dieu/foi*] *seul*(*e*) ([God/faith] alone), *vive* [*foy*] (live [faith]), and *spirituel/humain* (spiritual/human) are the four adjectives analyzed methodically in *L'Épithète ou la connivence*. See also Le Cadet, who builds upon those findings.

18 Rémy Belleau, *Les Amours et nouveaux eschanges des pierres précieuses*, ed. Maurice F. Verdier (Geneva: Droz, 1973).

19 Matt. 18: "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (KJV). See J. C. Plumpe, "*Vivum Saxum, Vivi Lapides*: The Concept of 'Living Stone' in Classical and Christian Antiquity," *Traditio* 1 (1943), 1–14; and Chayes, *L'Eloquence des pierres précieuses*, *passim*.

20 La Taille claims he seeks to entertain not only soldiers and officers (gentlemen "de robe courte"), such as Senarpont, but also the ladies (*Géomance*, 4r), knowing that he himself learned the art from a young lady (5ov).

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Livre: "Je ne bastis que pierres vives, ce sont hommes" (370) ["I build only living stones, that is, men"].[21] Non-dogmatic and prudent like Rabelais, and the character of Frère Jean later quoted by Montaigne, La Taille promoted free thinking but eschewed martyrdom on the pyre.[22] "Les vertes plus sujectes sont / Au tort du feu qui les corrompt" remains an ambiguous statement in the verse *Blason*, between an admission of vulnerability—green stones easily take offense, or get corrupted by fire—and the suggestion that a few incorruptible stones may survive. In sum, La Taille clearly alludes to the political and religious crisis the nation is undergoing, albeit in broadly symbolical, non-dogmatic ways. Such discreet Evangelical rhetoric reconciles political prudence and spiritual militancy. Pragmatic and compassionate, La Taille is concerned with living stones hereunder, as believers *and* civil subjects. How, then, to keep them alive?

How To Judge Well, for Self-Preservation: The Benefits of Hyacinth

Keeping in mind the fraught symbolic imagery surrounding stones and stars present in both texts, the pragmatic and palliative intent highlighted in the paratext can further be explicated through the telling example of the *jacinth* or hyacinth, an antique gemstone whose virtues are granted special treatment in the prose *Blason des pierres*. What sort of faith to put in its active power?

There is no certitude in the divination arts. The stated purpose is to provide amusement and comfort, no surefire self-help or divination tricks—in keeping with the caution necessary when dealing with natural magic, due to its proximity to black magic and sorcery. The skeptic humanist outlook sets the tone from the preface on, in the *Géomance*. Not much credit or faith (*foi*) is to be given to the ancient practice itself, ancient or not, as seen in the prefatory epistle to Senarpont and its highly qualified language: "Non que je te veuille induire d'ajouster foy certaine à ceste Geomance (inventee toutesfois par les Caldees, Hebrieux, & Indiens)" (*Géomance*, iii v) ["Not that I would want you

21 François Rabelais, *Le Tiers Livre* (1546). See the onomastic commentary on "Pierre" proposed by Tristan Vigliano, "Le Prologue du Quart Livre (1552): une sagesse et ses implications," *Le Verger* 1 (2012). http://personae.jimdo.com/a-le-verger-revue-en-ligne/le-verger-bouquets/janv-2012-tristan-vigliano/

22 Rabelais's Frère Jean (*Tiers Livre*, chap. 3), later quoted by Montaigne (*Essais* III.1, "De l'utile et de l'honnête": "Je suivrai le bon parti jusqu'au feu, mais exclusivement si je puis."), likewise declared himself ready to defend the Gospel, "up to the pyre, to the exclusion thereof."

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to give credit to this Geomancy (albeit invented by the Chaldeans, Hebrews, & Indians)"].[23] And according to the *Blason*, even gemstones with the most extraordinary powers cannot be guaranteed to protect anybody. As a case in point, the virtues of the hyacinth are at once extolled and downplayed, as though to mimic the balancing act of judgment, in one of the few lengthy passages the otherwise concise *Blason* contains:

> Les gens de sçavoir, & d'authorité prestent au vray Jacinth de grandes, & merveilleuses vertus avec plusieurs louanges, disant, que par la communication de Juppiter, & du Soleil (auquel il est particulierement subject) si on le porte sur soy, & qu'il touche à la chair tant soit peu, il nous preserve, & defend contre tout venin, contre la Peste, l'Air corrompu, & les mauvaises vapeurs: Fait bien dormir, resjouit & conforte le cœur, & l'Esprit: augmente les richesses, & l'authorité: et dit-on encore plus, qu'il rend son porteur aymable, & bien voulu, & hors du peril de la foudre, & du Tonnerre. Voyla pourquoy (considerant ces beaux privileges qu'il a du Ciel) je dy qu'il seroit bon de le porter tousjours sur soy, veu mesmes que plusieurs grands personnages voire Princes, Empereurs et & Roys ont fini miserablement leurs jours par le Tonnerre, la poyson, la Peste, ou l'Air corrompu, & sur tout par la hayne, & mal-veillance de leurs subjets: Toutesfois je ne voudrois prester tant de force au Jacinth, que je voulusse les asseurer, ou garentir (en le portant) de n'estre jamais hays, ny mal-voulus, principallement s'ils sont Tyrans: mais bien j'en conseillerois l'usage à quelques Amants mal-traictez afin d'estre aymez & bien voulus de leurs Maistresses. (6v)
>
> [Men of knowledge and authority claim that the true Hyacinth possesses great and marvelous virtues, and praise it saying that, due to the influence of Jupiter and the Sun (to which it is particularly subject), if one carries it and it touches the flesh ever so slightly, it preserves and guards against any poison, against the plague, corrupted air and bad vapors;

23 Claiming to teach a noble pastime is close to Cattaneo's opening statements: "Ayant plutost dressé cest Art (qui nous a servi maintesfois d'adoucir, & tromper l'ennuyeuse fatigue des Armes) pour le passetemps des gentils Esprits que aucune certaineté que j'y pense estre, encores que je ne l'aye trouvé gueres faux" (*Géomance du seigneur Christofe de Cattan*, ii v) ["Having put together this Art—which many a time has served to alleviate and distract me from the heavy fatigue of military fighting—more for the entertainment of noble minds than because of any certainty I may think lies in it, although I've rarely found it to be really wrong"].

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> makes one sleep well; fills one with joy; and comforts one's heart and spirit; increases wealth and authority; furthermore, they say it makes its bearer more loved and desired, and safe from thunder and lightning. I therefore recommend (considering the beautiful privileges it received from the heavens) that one always carry it close, all the more so since a number of notable people, even princes, emperors and kings, ended their days most miserably, by thunder, poison, plague, or corrupted air. I should not, however, make the Hyacinth sound so powerful that I would want to guarantee that those who bear it would never be hated, nor the object of ill will, especially if they be tyrants. But I would highly recommend its use to a few ill-treated lovers, so that they may be loved and desired by their mistresses.]

Both insistent and referentially vague, this passage is driven by double entendre, aimed at a confraternal community sharing the same language, namely, that of the Evangelical movement in France, whose agenda survived the persecutions of the late 1530s and 1540s and the outbreak of the civil wars. Militant but temperate, such positioning is also tied to the traumatic circumstances that motivated La Taille to trade the sword for the pen after the first, then the third, War of Religion, all the while remaining mobilized as a royalist quietly defending moderate reformist ideas. Varyingly unorthodox ideas were harbored by the French Evangelicals, whose Gallic and often Gallican loyalty, pacifist inclination, taste for prudent dissimulation, and restraint in the face of violent polemic and action, contrasted with orthodox Lutherans or Calvinists—who consequently accused or condemned them in terms similar to those wielded by Catholic leaders (Bernard, 33–35). Perhaps the fact that the author mentions the chosen allegiance of his main model, i.e. Cattaneo from Geneva ("Cattan, Genevois," *Géomance*, 50v), serves as a way to distance his endeavor from vociferous Protestantism. It incidentally asserts that the French improved upon the Swiss: after all, the art is deemed "barbaric" before it found its French appropriation through La Taille; and the reader is invited to appreciate the difference (*Géomance*, 50v). Using covert language to support their spiritual beliefs and political purpose, French Evangelicals shared with Protestant militants self-representations as lovers on a path paved with necessary tribulations. But contrary to Calvin and others, they eschewed violence and bellicose dispositions and stood on moderate, religiously independent, moral ground.[24]

24 Wanegfellen calls French Evangelicals as well as liberal or Gallican Catholics various names. The *Nicodémites* prevailed from the 1530s through the 1550s and the *Iréniques* in the 1580s and 1590s, while La Taille's involvement corresponds to the time of *Temporiseurs*,

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Closer textual analysis will elucidate the semi-cryptic significance of the hyacinth description quoted above. First, two opinions are contrasted: the—presumably scholastic, Thomist—*doxa* ("on," "les gens de sçavoir, & d'authorité"; cf. "(selon Aristote)" in the prefatory letter quoted above, *Géomance*, iii r), generally contested by humanist and Evangelical writers, and that of the author ("je"). Those benefitting from the protection offered by the hyacinth can be princes or commoners, which gives the paragraph a mildly dissident political resonance, along with other terms that evoke power, (in)justice, and violence (e.g. *péril*, *foudre*, *tonnerre*, *sujet*, *hayne*, *tyran* …), drawing a direct parallel with the situation in the kingdom. A large part of the lexis is also biblical. In 1574, La Taille still uses the "Evangelical ideolect" perfected by Marot, Marguerite de Navarre, Des Périers, and Rabelais, and spread among French spiritual reformers, non-dogmatic militants engaged in writing as a civic and spiritual mission.[25] Besides recycling traditional typological tropes, the charged literary language developed by the Evangelical community embedded polarized biblical imagery and scriptural references into pedestrian, seemingly innocuous vocabulary and phraseology.[26] Among high-currency words, avatars of the Spirit, good or bad, stand out in the quoted excerpt (*Air*, *Esprit*, *vapeurs*), as well as metaphors of divine wrath (*foudre*, *Tonnerre*) and of the elect, the faithful Lovers (*Amants*). Capitalization of key "rallying words" may further alert the attuned reader (if this is an authorial decision as opposed to the printer's). The old litany "*A peste, fame et bello, libera nos, Domine*," which was overused for

noblemen steered toward one side or the other for reasons of patronage, vassalage, and family loyalties, much more than religious faith. They often resisted the increasing pressure to choose sides. Some were called "heretics" or became suspected dissidents simply by association with declared Huguenots (see *Ni Rome, ni Genève*, 278–86 especially).

25 Garnier-Mathez also concludes on the uneasy but original moderate position held by French Evangelicals, between the Catholic and Reformed Churches. The pacifist, if polemical, faith-and-charity-based stance maintained by Evangelical authors stands in high contrast to Calvin's bellicose position, according to Bernard ("Par qui le scandale arrive-t-il?" 26). For the most articulate, up-to-date study of French Evangelical fiction as reflecting a peculiar intellectual and spiritual movement erased by history, see Le Cadet, whose readings greatly resonate with mine (even though the Wars of Religion further complicate the matter).

26 See, besides Garnier-Mathez, Corinne Noirot, *"Entre deux airs": Style simple et ethos poétique chez Clément Marot et Joachim du Bellay (1515–1560)* (Paris: Hermann, 2013); Tom Conley, *The Graphic Unconscious in Early Modern French Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Chrystel Bernat and Deborah Puccio-Den, "Religion, secret et autorité: Pratiques textuelles et cultuelles en clandestinité," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 2 (2011), 155–61.

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self-justification by pamphleteers on all fronts during the Wars, can be heard twice in those lines, with an insistence on noxious spirits or humors:

> il nous preserve, & defend contre tout venin, contre la Peste, l'Air corrompu, & les mauvaises vapeurs [...] plusieurs grands personnages [...] ont fini miserablement leurs jours par le Tonnerre, la poyson, la Peste, ou l'Air corrompu.
>
> *GÉOMANCE*, 6V
>
> [It guards and defends us against all venom, against the plague, corrupted air and bad vapors [...] a number of notable people [...] ended their days in agony due to thunder, poison, the plague, or corrupted air.][27]

God alone (often called *Juppiter*, *Soleil*, *Ciel,* in allegorical literature) dispenses and repels literal and figurative pestilence. The right gemstone may provide protection or support. Human actions and passions do encounter divine justice at one point or another, however, and "lovers" and "tyrants," victims and oppressors, may fare differently: "I should not, however, make the Hyacinth sound so powerful that I would want to guarantee that those who bear it would never be hated, nor the object of ill will, especially if they be tyrants. But I would highly recommend its use to a few ill-treated lovers, so that they may be loved and desired by their mistresses" (*Blason* 6v, as quoted above). Faith and works play a definite, if contingently uncertain, role. Free will is underscored, and no guarantee is given.

Because of its exceptional virtues crystallized in Christian mineral symbolism, the hyacinth is at the heart of Christian-skeptic reminders of human frailty, which redirects the palliative advice. The stone itself, a type of zircon, is sometimes radioactive and was actually used as safeguard against the plague. Its color, rarity, bloody Apollonian origins in mythology—the death of Hyacinth—and radiant properties make it a long-standing symbol of Christ, as Chayes's erudite study of Neoplatonic lapidaries teaches us. In the allegorical tradition, Jesus/Hiesos, or the *Jacinth/Hyacinth*—the common J/H initial provides additional symbolical signaling—can preserve or free from pestilence those "carry[ing] it close" (*Blason*, 6v). In short, abiding in Christ is the ultimate protection. And yet such protection is not absolute or unconditional, La Taille tells us. Only a combination of active judgment and faith, which

27 See Bertrand Gibert, *Le Baroque littéraire français* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1997), 86–88.

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Evangelicals called *la foi vive* ("living faith") can better safeguard whoever carries the gemstone.[28]

Scripturally resonant, the passage takes on political undertones, polemical yet not bellicosely partisan in nature. The use of the word "Tyrant," which had become fraught in itself, makes La Taille sound more militant than usual, in his description of the hyacinth. Likewise, the convoluted formulation at the end of the *Géomance* ([those] "whose minds cannot look any further than oxen and ploughs," [50v]) may allude to the yoke that passive subjects are partly responsible for keeping around their necks like cattle, according to La Boétie's *De la servitude volontaire*, in which "joug" ("yoke") appears seven times. Although cryptic language often betrays dissident allegiances, it is hard to turn La Taille into a *monarchomaque* for warning his audience against tyranny, or tyrants against the magical protection forbidden to them. Firstly, this baroque-sounding, self-conscious, subtly ironic passage is rather isolated—or hiding in plain sight in the middle of the pamphlet. Secondly, writers known as Catholics, such as Rémy Belleau, equally exploited Christian and Christic symbolism (Chayes). Thirdly, La Taille emphasizes prudence, free will, and personal responsibility. Choosing to be a "Tyrant" causes one to be hated, while keeping Christ/the Hyacinth close to one's flesh—avatar of *the Flesh*—makes one more loveable (6v), and does so especially if one is already part of the community of Lovers or "Amants." In other words, subtle soteriological undertones resound: Faith in Christ can protect you, but not if the evil spirit is already in you and/or you abuse the power God gave you. Again, what makes the formulation more Evangelical (in the French sixteenth-century sense), that is, Catholic at its core, is the emphasis on free will and individual agency; the individual is responsible for making a choice between charitable or sinful works. Malevolence and hatred can hurt rulers even more than figurative pestilence can, La Taille stresses: "par le Tonnerre, la poyson, la Peste, ou l'Air corrompu, *& sur tout* par la hayne, & mal-veillance de leurs subjets" (*Géomance*, 6v; emphasis mine) ["by thunder, poison, the plague, or corrupted air, and *above all* by their subjects' hatred and malevolence"].

As in La Taille's biblical tragedies, the idea of the dissemination of evil, not just the Tyrant's responsibility, primarily emphasizes responsible interpretation and action, even in the context of vertiginous historical

28 The hyacinth is the eleventh precious stone in the foundation of the New Jerusalem in Heaven (Rev. 21:20), and it sometimes represents the most obscure apostle, Simon the Zealot. These references contribute to justifying its protective power in medieval gemology.

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uncertainty.[29] Active interpretation and a refusal to feed the spiral of violence are paramount. Promoting faith, peaceful comfort, and sound judgment also tones down the national and confessional divide, even though one side clearly appears more justified. In contrast, Calvinist authors such as Agrippa d'Aubigné produced more univocal persecution stories, epic martyrologies. For La Taille, among other *Politiques* whose religious positioning appears primarily Gallican and/or Evangelical, surviving persecution and hateful vengeance and refusing to spread it in return was a strong commitment. Not losing sight of appeasement and moderation is what, to *Politiques*, prevailed,[30] because consolation and discreet justification should trump violence in the end. The seventeenth century, unfortunately, proved the French Evangelicals wrong in their trust in the power of rational faith and good judgment, of steadfast patience as a means of self-preservation. Their anti-authoritarian stance promoting prudent interpretation as an expression and pre-condition of humane moderation and human freedom nevertheless has a lot to teach us.

The dramatized, enigmatically symbolic, deceptively didactic, and partly dissident *Blason des pierres précieuses* and *Géomance abrégée* are thus critical and consolatory and not the least bit divinatory. Astrology as a pretext not only reveals the uncertainty, mutability, and interconnectedness of all things, but also facilitates provocatively polysemous discourse, and the critique of passions affecting human actions. Earthly minerals and celestial bodies are represented as agents (through verbs like *agir*, *opérer*, *faire œuvre*, *décliner*, *guérir*, *souffrir*) not because humans are determined by them, but because of the continuum of Creation (Grafton). Living stones, turning into stars when chosen and saved, represent the faithful, expected to be active here and now. In the language of Neoplatonism, which, like Rabelais, Jean de la Taille recycles in critical, ludic ways, living stones and true Christians both have prodigious virtues thanks to the *spirit*(*s*) that inhabit(s) them. And yet the hardest stones themselves sometimes lose their potent virtue.[31] And it is difficult to assess what the future

29 This position vis-à-vis noble and royal power is even more apparent in La Taille's tragedies. See Corinne Noirot, "Conjurer le mal: Jean de La Taille et le paradoxe de la tragédie humaniste," in *Spectacle in Early Modern France*, eds. Jeff Persels and Russell Ganim. Special issue of *EMF: Studies in Early Modern France* 13 (2010), 121–43.

30 In that, La Taille's call for appeasement remains the same as in his 1562 *Remonstrance pour le Roy, à tous ses sujets qui ont prins les armes contre sa Majesté.*

31 The idea that the hardest stones themselves sometimes lose their power differentiates La Taille's palliative enterprise from Belleau's beautiful poetic *lapidaire* and its insistence on incorruptible stones—even though Belleau's more orthodox spiritual stance also partly

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holds, with or without full knowledge of astral sympathies and even with faith in Christ. Inspiring or re-energizing the living stones of France in spite of it all is at stake for our author. His call to good judgment matches a non-violent, discreetly militant stance, which became rare after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. A paradoxical form of empowerment is ultimately advocated. In proposing that worthy aristocrats learn geomancy and gemology as worldly pastimes, and by lacing his handbooks with conniving double entendre and ambiguous but ultimately eloquent rallying symbols, La Taille voices his concern for his fellow nationals as Christians forming a civil society. The French nobility may justifiably feel paralyzed, doomed by the seemingly apocalyptic signs that surround them and resist deciphering. But this soldier-poet holds on to Evangelical views and their already-nostalgic original language. To him, cautiously and humbly playing with fortune and practicing informed free will unassumingly bolstered by the Spirit may well still contribute to stopping the proliferation of fallen stars and dead stones plaguing the kingdom of France.[32]

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betrays a measure of skepticism toward human nature and human willpower in particular, as Evelien Chayes has shown.

32 See Pierre Mari, *François Rabelais: Pantagruel, Gargantua* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994), on Rabelais's relational philosophy of language: "en aucune manière, la parole ne saurait se réfugier dans une atemporalité pacifiée qui la préserverait des difficultés du rapport à autrui" (100) ["in no way can speech/language retreat into some pacified atemporality that would preserve it from the challenges of human relationships"].

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PART 4

On Montaigne

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CHAPTER 16

Montaigne, Monsters, and Modernity

Kathleen Long

For quite some time now, critics have imagined a world without the concept of the normal, following the lead of Georges Canguilhem, whose critical analysis in *The Normal and the Pathological* is so crucial to much of the discussion on this topic.[1] Michael Warner has invited us to discern *The Trouble with Normal*, and how this concept shapes our lives in restrictive and oppressive ways, even as it seems to grant us greater rights or greater inclusion in the circle of the "normal."[2] Lennard Davis has invited us to think about what might come after normal in his book *The End of Normal*, and Alice Dreger has invited us to think about the future of normal in *One of Us*.[3] What has been scrutinized somewhat less is what came before the modern idea of normal, not so much in historical terms, as the history of disability has been traced by scholars such as Henri-Jacques Stiker, but conceptually, as the philosophical and scientific underpinnings for this history are generally presented as originating during the Enlightenment.[4] Yet the philosophy and science of the normal have their own history, dating as far back as Aristotle, and they are countered by alternative philosophies, which often call into question the impulse for systematized knowledge that necessitates concepts similar to that of the normal. In order for a body or mind to be deemed acceptable, it has to fit into a certain category

1 Georges Canguilhem, *Le Normal et le pathologique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966); *The Normal and the Pathological*, trans. Carolyn R. Fawcett (New York: Zone Books, 1991).

2 Michael Warner, *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). It should be noted, however, that Warner is appropriating the discourse of normality (and abnormality) from disability studies for the purposes of discussing sexuality. This move was already made by Michel Foucault in his seminar *Les Anormaux: Cours au Collège de France, 1974–1975* (Paris: Gallimard/Seuil, 1999). The intersection between these two domains of theory has been explored by Robert McRuer, in his book, *Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

3 Lennard Davis, *The End of Normal: Identity in a Biocultural Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014); Alice Dreger, *One of Us: Conjoined Twins and the Future of Normal* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

4 Henri-Jacques Stiker, *A History of Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

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of resemblance to other bodies or minds; in medieval scholastic philosophy, the general term for these categories of resemblance is "universals." These categories may grow in their capacity to encompass a broader range of bodies or minds, but they will always leave a marginalized group that is not so easily categorized. This way of processing knowledge, even in its most generous and capacious guise, is a form of control over bodies and minds based on the exclusion of certain individuals. It is, in short, a form of epistemological bullying, since this is how bullying functions, controlling those in the circle of acceptance by maintaining a group outside of the circle that threatens and is threatened by the circle. This negative aspect of the organization of knowledge about diverse bodies and minds is clear in the current demonization of transgender and autistic individuals, those whose bodies and minds most evidently do not fit into neat categories, whether binary gender or consistent presentations of one regularized set of "symptoms," both calling into question what "typical" gender or minds might look like.

What if there was a way of thinking that envisioned diversity and difference as the fundamental mode of existence, leaving no one and nothing outside of the realm of thought and refusing knowledge systems and categories as factitious? What if this way of thinking had existed well before postmodern theory, a way of thinking that made the body integral to the functioning of the mind, and made the diversity of bodies and minds an integral part of the world? One has to wonder what effect this might have had on modern eugenics programs, as well as on many other aspects of modern thought. In this essay, I would like to consider Michel de Montaigne's responses to attempts to elaborate organized knowledge systems and to the categorization of bodies within those systems, particularly gendered bodies. Montaigne's blend of Augustinian fideism and Pyrrhonian skepticism leads to an emphasis on diversity and inconstancy not as negative attributes (as skepticism might lead us to believe) but as essential parts of the rich life of the world as it is. This diversity exceeds and confounds our knowledge, but this aspect of it is salubrious as well according to Montaigne's version of skepticism, as it frees us from our own presumption of mastery and opens us to possibilities beyond our knowledge and control. This diversity and inconstancy are present not only in the examples he provides, but in the language and rhetoric of his writing, which embodies diversity in a manner constantly reread, revised, and repeated by his readers in a form of meditative as well as interpretative reading exercise.

On many subjects, Montaigne interjects a human and humane voice, combining Augustinian theology and Pyrrhonian skepticism to underscore the limitations of human knowledge in the context of a rich and diverse world that routinely escapes our control. Because of his belief in the beauty of diversity

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and his conviction that man is incapable of understanding it, he provides a compelling antidote to the less humane aspects of modern rationalism, urging readers not to overreach their limitations but to accept both nature and the body as they are, in their own inscrutable order.[5] This argument becomes particularly compelling in his discussions of what Rosemarie Garland Thomson calls "extraordinary bodies," those bodies which we now associate with disability, but which were seen as monstrous in the early modern period.[6]

The continuation of early modern discourses of monstrosity in modern discourses of disability is disturbing, as is the damaging effect these discourses can have on individuals who do not resemble some ideal body type, and, more recently, whose brains do not function in the way our normative notions of cognition assert they should. It is undoubtedly controversial to join these two discourses, but it is also important to understand the ongoing prevalence of marginalization of the disabled in the light of the history of representation of disability. We still use the term "disorder" to describe conditions we do not consider to fit within some norm; we also focus on regularity of features and of conduct as an ideal. We designate physical or mental features that we deem too different "abnormal" or even "pathological." In its extreme, this notion of corporeal and cognitive difference as a pathology can be extraordinarily destructive to human life and well-being, most evidently and terribly in the Nazi program to euthanize the disabled, as David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder have argued in their work on *The Cultural Locations of Disability*.[7] Georges Canguilhem asserts the opposite of this attitude in his work when he states:

> L'anomalie c'est le fait de variation individuelle, qui empêche deux êtres de pouvoir se substituer l'un à l'autre de façon complète. Elle illustre dans l'ordre biologique le principe leibnizien des indiscernables. Mais diversité n'est pas maladie. *L'anomal* ce n'est pas le pathologique.
>
> *LE NORMAL ET LE PATHOLOGIQUE*, 85

5 I owe a great debt to David T. Mitchell's and Sharon L. Snyder's reading of Montaigne in the context of disability studies, in their chapter on "Montaigne's 'Infinities of Formes' and Nietzsche's 'Higher Men'" from *Narrative Prosthesis: Disability and the Dependencies of Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 65–93.

6 Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

7 David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, "Introduction" and "The Eugenic Atlantic: Disability and the Making of an International Science," in *Cultural Locations of Disability* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 3–34, 100–29.

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> [An anomaly is a fact of individual variation which prevents two beings from being able to take the place of each other completely. It illustrates the Leibnizean principle of indiscernibles in the biological order. But diversity is not disease; the *anomalous* is not the pathological.]
>
> *THE NORMAL AND THE PATHOLOGICAL*, 137

While Canguilhem cites Leibniz, a more appropriate analogy might have been made to Montaigne, who questions as he does the very foundations of systematic knowledge of the body and of the natural world. For Montaigne, the one universal quality of all things is diversity:

> La consequence que nous voulons tirer de la ressemblance des evenemens est mal seure, d'autant qu'ils sont toujours dissemblables: il n'est aucune qualité si universelle en cette image des choses que la diversité et variété
>
> [The inference that we try to draw from the resemblance of events is uncertain, because they are always dissimilar: there is no quality so universal in this aspect of things as diversity and variety].[8]

This statement represents a reversal of the concept of universals in natural philosophy, according to which things can be organized into an abstract system based on resemblances. Things considered in their diversity are called "particulars" by medieval natural philosophers, who seek to place them in the system of universals, in spite of the apparent irregularity of nature, as Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park explain:

> In practice nature appeared only to approximate regularity, and particular natural effects or processes often fell short of this lofty ideal. As a result, Aristotle's medieval Latin followers (following the lead of their Arabic predecessors) had to develop strategies to explain how a universal and certain "science" of nature was in fact attainable, in view of the relative irregularity of particular phenomena.[9]

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8 Michel de Montaigne, "De l'experience," *Les Essais de Montaigne*, ed. Pierre Villey (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978), III.13, 1065; "Of Experience," *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald Frame (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1965), 815. All citations of the *Essais* are to these editions, hereafter cited as *Essais* and *Essays*.

9 Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature: 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 114.

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Medieval scholastic philosophers were focused on putting these irregular phenomena into order, and frequently that which could not be constrained in such a way was deemed a "marvel" or even a "monster." In early modern cosmographies, unusual particulars came to be known as "singularities." But Montaigne sees particularity or singularity as the universal quality of the human and natural condition, as he suggests in his essay "Of a Monstrous Child":

> Ce que nous appellons monstres, ne le sont pas à Dieu, qui voit en l'immensité de son ouvrage l'infinité des formes qu'il y a comprinses; et est à croire que cette figure qui nous estonne, se rapporte et tient à quelque autre figure de mesme genre inconnu à l'homme. De sa toute sagesse il ne part rien que bon et commun et reglé; mais nous n'en voyons pas l'assortiment et la relation. *Quod crebro videt, non miratur, etiam si cur fiat nescit. Quod ante non vidit, id, si evenerit, ostentum esse censet.* Nous apelons contre nature ce qui advient contre la coustume: rien n'est que selon elle, quel qu'il soit. Que cette raison universelle et naturelle chasse de nous l'erreur et l'estonnement que la nouvelleté nous apporte.
>
> *ESSAIS*, II.30, 713

> [What we call monsters are not so to God, who sees in the immensity of his work the infinity of forms that he has comprised in it; and it is for us to believe that this figure that astonishes us is related and linked to some other figure of the same kind unknown to man. From his infinite wisdom there proceeds nothing but that is good and ordinary and regular; but we do not see its arrangement and relationship … We call contrary to nature what happens contrary to custom; nothing is anything but according to nature, whatever it may be. Let this universal and natural reason drive out of us the error and astonishment that novelty brings us.]
>
> *ESSAYS*, 539

This passage evokes the Augustinian view of monstrosity as a part of the order of creation, and thus something to be valued:

> For God is the Creator of all things: He Himself knows where and when anything should be, or should have been, created; and He knows how to weave the beauty of the whole out of the similarity and diversity of its parts. The man who cannot view the whole is offended by what he takes

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> to be the deformity of a part; but this is because he does not know how it is adapted or related to the whole.[10]

In this passage, Augustine is countering the Aristotelian impulse to impose order on the world, and to designate as monstrous all that which does not fit into that order.[11] Montaigne takes these ideas even further, and deliberately plays on the medieval concept of universals in order to make it clear that human knowledge is too limited to be capable of putting the natural world into order; nature has its own regularity, which remains beyond our grasp. Furthermore, for him, knowledge cannot be abstracted from bodies, but remains profoundly intertwined with corporeal existence; this is one of the lessons he takes from Pyrrhonian skepticism.[12] Knowledge itself is therefore a series of singularities or particular instances, rather than a coherent system.[13]

What is monstrous for Montaigne is man's presumption to master his own natural state of being, and the natural world itself, by means of systems of knowledge that put everything into order. He uses the image of mercury, constantly escaping the grasp of children and scattering into ever tinier pieces

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10 Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), bk. 16, ch. 8, 708.

11 Aristotle sees monstrosity as that which departs from a designated category or type: "For even he who does not resemble his parents is already in a certain sense a monstrosity; for in these cases nature has in a way departed from the type." *On the Generation of Animals*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, trans. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 1187.

12 See, for example, Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, trans. R. G. Bury (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933), bk. 1, 2–148, on the modes of skeptical thought, and the Ten Modes in particular.

13 Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani offers a compelling reading of "D'un enfant monstrueux" in her chapter "L'Essai, corps monstrueux," from *Montaigne. L'Ecriture de l'essai* (Paris: PUF, 1988), 221–40, demonstrating how the essay itself conjoins different examples, different intertexts, and different arguments to enact monstrosity textually and underscore the monstrosity of the thought processes that create the notion of the monstrous. Philippe Desan also reminds us that the project of the *Essays* is already inherently monstrous, in "Les *Essais* comme *Freak Show* ou Marie de Gournay tutrice d'un enfant monstrueux," *Le Visage changeant de Montaigne/The Changing Face of Montaigne*, eds. Keith Cameron and Laura Willett (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), 307–19, as does Bernd Renner in "A Monstrous Body of Writing? Irregularity and the Implicit Unity of Montaigne's 'Des Boyteux," *French Forum*, 29, 1 (2004), 1–20. Renner emphasizes that the deformities of the text underscore its monstrosity, but they also signal the value of the monstrous: "*De*formity is thus valued over *con*formity" (15).

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as they try to control it, to express the futility of the pursuit of knowledge as mastery:

> Qui a veu des enfans essayans de ranger à certain nombre une masse d'argent vif? Plus ils le pressent et pestrissent et s'estudient à le contraindre à leur loy, plus ils irritent la liberté de ce genereux metal: il fuit à leur art et se va menuisant et esparpillant au-delà de tout compte.
>
> *ESSAIS*, III.13, 1067

> [Who has seen children trying to divide a mass of quicksilver into a certain number of parts? The more they press it and knead it and try to constrain it to their will, the more they provoke the independence of this spirited metal; it escapes their skill and keeps dividing and scattering into little particles beyond all reckoning.]
>
> *ESSAYS*, 816

In these attempts at control of the world through systems of knowledge, we simply push our understanding of the natural world farther and farther away from us. The rest of this essay will examine one major example of this problematic process: the imposition of binary gender norms on non-normative bodies.

Montaigne is not alone in his questioning of any possibility of systematic knowledge of the body. Alchemical treatises of the period also offer alternatives to the gender binary, as the figure of alchemical Mercury gestures towards a state both before and after gender, one in which unity and diversity coincide. This state is represented most frequently by the image and concept of the alchemical rebis, or double being (as in *res* + *bis*), with a dual-gendered body in which one identity is not subsumed into the other. Other singular bodies inhabit alchemical treatises, with feminized males and masculinized females proliferating in the imagery, along with disabled or diseased individuals. None of these bodies remains stable; as the alchemical process is predicated on constant transformation of materials, corporeal instability and metamorphosis become the predominant images in treatises.[14]

In early modern French treatises on monsters, the tension between the normative binary of male and female and the myriad examples that escape the confines of that binary show how limited and limiting our schemes for organizing knowledge of the natural world can be. The problematic nature of

14 See my own essay, "Odd Bodies: Reviewing Corporeal Difference in Early Modern Alchemy," in *Gender and Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Kathleen P. Long (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 63–86.

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binary gender division is evident already in the proliferation of hermaphrodites in Ambroise Paré's treatise *Des monstres et prodiges* (*On Monsters and Marvels*), first published in 1573 as part of his two books on surgery.[15] The hermaphrodite is not merely a third gender, but a fourth and a fifth and a sixth as well: there are male hermaphrodites and female hermaphrodites, double hermaphrodites and neuter ones. The double hermaphrodites pose a particular problem, as the law dictates that they be designated as male or female. Thus, characteristics must be sought out that signal more or less masculinity or femininity.[16] The division and redivision of ambiguously gendered bodies creates an effect that resembles Montaigne's mercury, constantly scattering into smaller and smaller pieces that are no easier to grasp than the original mass. Caspar Bauhin, a professor of anatomy at the university of Basel at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, best known for his classifications of plants but also the author of treatises on anatomy, theorized a spectrum of gender, from the manly male to the "double female" in his work *De hermaphroditorum monstrosorumque partuum natura*, published in 1614.[17] This seems to be the logical consequence of Paré's own proliferation of categories. While Bauhin argues for three fundamental forms of humanity—male, female, and hermaphrodite—he acknowledges variations even within these types, and gives detailed descriptions of variations that call into question the possibility of clear categories.

Montaigne himself seems to collect, in his *Journal de voyage* and the *Essais*, a wide range of accounts of exceptions to the distinction between male and female, from the lapses in masculinity and queer performances of gender to the transsexual female to male transformation of Marie-Germain analyzed by Patricia Parker, Edith Benkov, Gary Ferguson, and Lawrence D. Kritzman.[18]

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15 I am deliberately not using the term "intersex" in this study, both because the treatises I analyze use the term "hermaphrodite" and because I wish to underscore the fact that these treatises are representing, for the most part, concepts that are abstract or imaginary, rather than real, living people. The correct term for people with variations in sex characteristics that do not allow them to be clearly identified as either male or female is intersex.

16 Ambroise Paré, *Des monstres et prodiges*, ed. Jean Céard (Geneva: Droz, 1971), 24–26.

17 Caspar Bauhin, *De hermaphroditorum monstrosorumque partuum natura* (Oppenheim: Galleri/Johann-Theodor de Bry, 1614), A2v–A3.

18 Michel de Montaigne, *Journal de voyage de Michel de Montaigne*, ed. François Rigolot (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992), 6seq.; Patricia Parker, "Gender Ideology, Gender Change: The Case of Marie-Germain," *Critical Inquiry* 19 (1993), 337–64; Edith Benkov, "Rereading Montaigne's Memorable Stories: Sexuality and Gender in Vitry-le-François," in *Montaigne after Theory/Theory after Montaigne*, ed. Zahi Zalloua (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 209–17; Gary Ferguson, "Montaigne's Itchy Ears:

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Todd Reeser analyzes the relationship between classical Pyrrhonian skepticism and Montaigne's discussions of gender, underscoring the separation of sex and gender in the *Essais* and the essayist's expressions of doubt concerning the possibility of an essential sex. He links this doubt to the "radically unknowable nature of the body as expressed in the 'Apologie de Raimond Sebond.'"[19] In the context of skepticism, it is the act of defining sex or gender itself that creates the slippage and doubt, calling up either circular reasoning, whereby the masculine is defined by the feminine, which in turn is defined in distinction to the masculine, or regress *ad infinitum*, whereby one element is defined by a second, which itself must be established in relation to a third, and so on.[20] This definition or distinction is always created in relationship to something that remains outside of, but nonetheless connected to, the category; this calls the distinction itself into question, and evokes an endless line of relations rather than a clear break.

Thus, it is clear that early modern discussions of the monstrous do not move uniformly in a normalizing or normative direction. There is a striking resemblance between Canguilhem's skepticism concerning the possibility that scientists could actually understand the functioning or functionality of a lived-in body in its everyday environment, and Montaigne's very similar skepticism concerning legal, medical, and philosophical understandings of lived experience, very frequently played out in his representations of non-normative bodies.[21] Canguilhem repeatedly asserts that life is not the stable object of scientific inquiry:

> Quand on pense à l'objet d'une science, on pense à un objet stable, identique à soi. La matière et le mouvement, régis par l'inertie, donne à cet égard toute garantie. Mais la vie? N'est-elle pas évolution, variation de formes, invention de comportements?
>
> *LE NORMAL ET LE PATHOLOGIQUE*, 135

Friendship, Marriage, (Homo)sexuality, and Skepticism," in his *Queer (Re)Readings in the French Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 191–244; Lawrence D. Kritzman, "Montaigne's Fantastic Monsters and the Construction of Gender" and "Representing the Monster: Cognition, Cripples, and Other Limp Parts in 'Des Boyteux,'" in his *The Fabulous Imagination: On Montaigne's* Essays (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 29–69.

19 Todd Reeser, "Theorizing Sex and Gender," in Zalloua, *Montaigne after Theory*, 227.

20 See Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, I.16, 178seq.

21 This is the focus of a large portion of the essay "De l'experience" ("Of Experience"), *Essais*, III.13, 1065–1116.

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> [When we think of the object of a science we think of a stable object identical to itself. In this respect, matter and motion, governed by inertia, fulfill every requirement. But life? Isn't it evolution, variation of forms, invention of behaviors?]
>
> *THE NORMAL AND THE PATHOLOGICAL*, 203

He repeatedly returns to this contrast between abstract science and lived experience, between the scientist's "operative norms" within the laboratory and what life is outside of those confines: "Les *normes fonctionnelles du vivant* examiné au laboratoire ne prennent un sens qu'à l'intérieur des *normes opératoires du savant*" (92) ["The living being's functional norms as examined in the laboratory are meaningful only within the framework of the scientist's operative norms" (145)]. Scientific systems are developed to explain the body's functioning in a circular fashion, creating a meaning for the body that only makes sense in the context of those systems.

Canguilhem's critique of natural and medical philosophers in *The Normal and the Pathological* takes aim at such attempts to give a systematic account of the anomalous body, and most particularly at the work of Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, author of a treatise on anomalies and monstrosities, *Histoire générale et particulière des anomalies de l'organisation chez l'homme et les animaux*, published between 1832 and 1837, with an "atlas" of detailed illustrations. This treatise is a striking example of the insistence on knowledge as mastery of the natural world. Typical of modern scientific works, the treatise is focused largely on developing knowledge systems, and the continuing adoption of the Aristotelian ideas in post-Enlightenment thought is significant, and could be seen as underlying modern concepts of the normal. The danger of this mode of thinking about the body is that it calls upon bodies to fit the norm, rather than devising a system open to a diverse range of bodies (if any system could do this). Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the son of Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the famous anatomist who squared off against Georges Cuvier concerning the question of evolution, offers a compelling example of the attempt to normalize diverse bodies.[22] Isidore was a zoologist and an authority on teratology, or development that deviated from the normal structures of human and animal anatomy. Both father and son were members of the French Academy of Sciences, and therefore part of the medical establishment in France in the early nineteenth century.

22 See Toby A. Appel, *The Cuvier-Geoffroy Debate: French Biology in the Decades before Darwin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

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Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire spends roughly one hundred pages of the first volume of his treatise tracing the history of teratology and denigrating all prior forms of knowledge as primitive. In keeping with his father's theories of evolution, he hypothesizes that anomalous physiology results from what he calls an "arrêt de développement" (arrested development).[23] This concept is crucial to modern concepts of disability, and has a discouragingly long afterlife, resonating in phrases such as "developmental delays." It implies that individuals with non-normative physiologies (and later cognition) are a lower form of life:

> Les monstres, d'après la théorie de l'arrêt de développement, pouvaient former une série comparable et parallèle à la série des âges le l'embryon et du foetus. Celle-ci à son tour, d'après de nouvelles et profondes recherches, inspirés par l'anatomie philosophique, était comparable à la grande série des espèces zoologiques. De là découlait un rapprochement naturel entre les degrés divers de la monstruosité et ceux de l'échelle animale. (1:20)
>
> [Monsters, according to the theory of arrested development, could form a series comparable and parallel to the series of stages of the embryo and the foetus. This in turn, according to the new and profound discoveries inspired by philosophical anatomy, was comparable to the great series of zoological species. From this resulted a natural association between the different degrees of monstrosity and those of the hierarchy of animals.]

This notion of arrested development thus relegates individuals whose anatomy departs from the "normal" to a lower level of existence, since the theories of evolution described by Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire *père et fils* presume hierarchies of being, with humans superior to the animals, and some humans superior to others. The association of the anomalous with the animal might explain certain human rights discussions that persist even today, conflating the disabled with the animal, or even placing them below the animal, for example in the work of Martha Nussbaum and of Peter Singer.[24]

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23 Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Histoire générale et particulière des anomalies de l'organisation chez l'homme et les animaux, ouvrage comprenant des recherches sur les caractères, la classification, l'influence physiologique et pathologique, les rapports généraux, les lois et les causes des monstruosités, des variétés et vices de conformation, ou traité de teratologie*, 4 vols. (Paris: J.-B. Baillière, 1832–37), 1:18.

24 See Martha Nussbaum, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007); and Peter Singer, "Taking Life: Humans," in *Practical Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 155–90.

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Thus, although Alice Dreger, Rosemarie Garland Thomson, and other scholars underscore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's work as the normalization or naturalization of the teratological, they also underscore this shift as a pathologizing of bodies that differ from the norm:

> Ultimately the work of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and other modernist teratologists resulted in what several historians of teratology have labeled "the domestication of the monster." This was the process by which the extraordinary body ceased to be truly extraordinary—that is, outside the realm of the natural—the process by which the teratological was stripped of its wonder and made simply pathological.[25]

In spite of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's repeated insistence on the "modernity" of his work, the pathologizing of non-normative bodies by modern science is linked to the history of their being interpreted as monsters in the early modern period; that is, as being outside of or marginal to the "natural" body. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire's own dependence on medieval and early modern categories of the monstrous to guide his extremely influential work is one clear sign of this link. He begins his discussion of anomalies with dwarves and giants, listing ancient, medieval, and early modern examples as well as modern ones (1:140–278). These two examples lead the way for the category of "simple anomalies" or *hémitéries* (1:127); to this category of anomalies he adds that of complex anomalies, or *hétérotaxies* (2:3–29); that of hermaphrodites (2:30–173), which he considers to be neither anomalies nor monstrosities; and finally that of monstrosities (conjoined twins, individuals with sirenomelia, acephaly, or microcephaly) (2:174–566). His distinction between anomalies and monstrosities is based on a question of functionality; if the organism can function without any major problems, then it is an anomaly. The examples he gives in the volume of images are animals and humans with too many fingers or toes (Figure 16.1).

Along with insisting on the modernity of his work, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire states repeatedly that he will bring order and regularity to that which was once

25 Alice Domurat Dreger, "Doubtful Sex," in *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 35. See also: Rosemarie Garland Thomson, "Introduction: From Wonder to Error—A Genealogy of Freak Discourses in Modernity," in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, ed. Rosemarie Garland Thomson (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 4; and Evelleen Richards, "A Political Anatomy of Monsters, Hopeful and Otherwise: Teratogeny, Transcendentalism, and Evolutionary Theorizing," *Isis* 85 (1994), 377–411.

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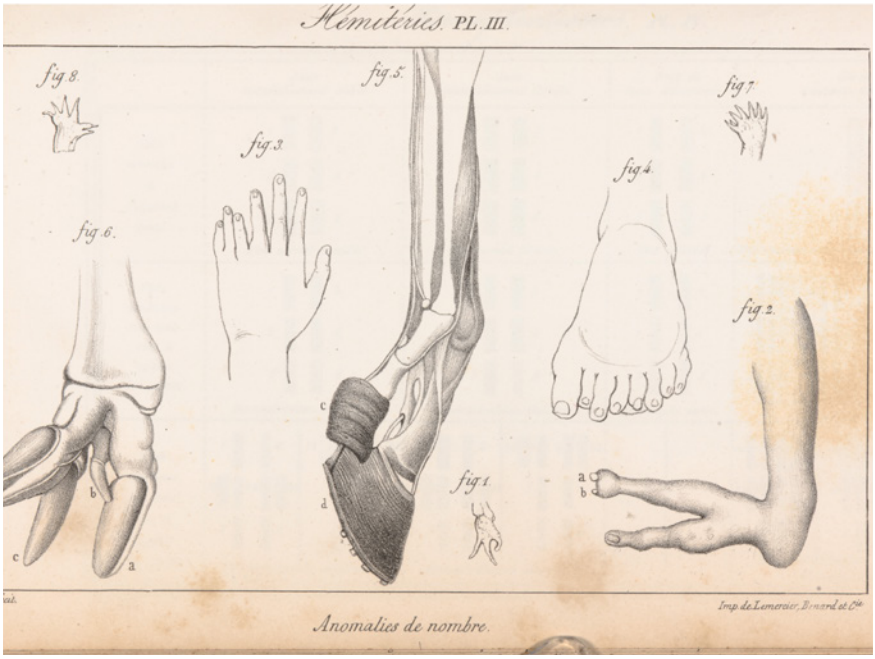

FIGURE 16.1 *Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire,* Histoire générale et particulière des anomalies de l'organisation chez l'homme et les animaux (A General and Particular History of Anomalies of Organization in Man and the Animals), Atlas, *Plate 3, "Hémitéries"* (*"Simple Anomalies"*).
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simply designated as monstrous. This is particularly evident when he presents his theory of arrested development; before this theory, he asserts:

> [...] on n'avait vu dans les phénomènes de la monstruosité que des arrangemens irréguliers, des conformations bizarres et désordonnées. [...] À l'idée d'êtres bizarres, irréguliers, elle substitue celle, plus vraie et plus philosophique, d'êtres entravés dans leurs développemens. [...] La monstruosité n'est plus un désordre aveugle, mais un autre ordre également régulier, également soumis à des lois [...] (1:18)
>
> [We once saw only irregular arrangements, bizarre and disordered forms in phenomena of monstrosity. [...] For the idea of bizarre, irregular beings, our theory substitutes that, more true and more philosophical, of beings stalled in their development. [...] Monstrosity is no longer a blind disorder, but another order equally regular, equally subject to laws.]

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And so he creates a nice, orderly system with four major categories, but the fact that the hermaphrodites have a category of their own and are not considered either anomalies or monstrosities, that is, neither functional nor dysfunctional, hints at the sheer difficulty of maintaining order and regularity in accounts of corporeal difference. It is this insistence on regularity that Canguilhem takes on in his chapter on the concepts of the normal, the anomaly, and illness, referring to the *Dictionnaire de medicine*, which associates the normal with the regular: "normal (*normalis*, de *norma*, règle): qui est conforme à la règle, régulier" (*Le Normal et le pathologique*, 76) ["normal (*normalis*, from *norma*, rule): that which conforms to the rule, regular" (*The Normal and the Pathological*, 125)]. Thus, the concept of the normal is inherently a means for imposing order on bodies.

Some bodies clearly resist this ordering impulse. In the text of his treatise, Geoffroy-Hilaire offers a chart of hermaphrodites (vol. 2, 56) (Figure 16.2).

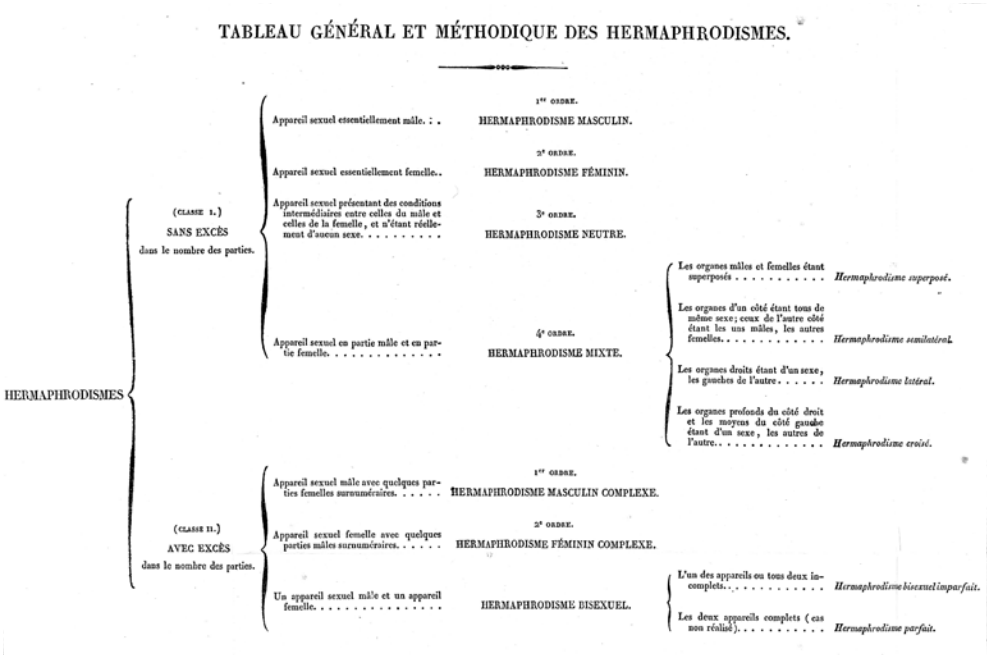
TABLEAU GÉNÉRAL ET MÉTHODIQUE DES HERMAPHRODISMES.
HERMAPHRODISMES
(CLASSE I.)
SANS EXCÈS
dans le nombre des parties.
(CLASSE II.)
AVEC EXCÈS
dans le nombre des parties.
Appareil sexuel essentiellement mâle. . .
1re ORDRE.
HERMAPHRODISME MASCULIN.
Appareil sexuel essentiellement femelle..
2e ORDRE.
HERMAPHRODISME FÉMININ.
Appareil sexuel présentant des conditions intermédiaires entre celles du mâle et celles de la femelle, et n'étant réellement d'aucun sexe. . . . . .
3e ORDRE.
HERMAPHRODISME NEUTRE.
Appareil sexuel en partie mâle et en partie femelle. . . . . .
4e ORDRE.
HERMAPHRODISME MIXTE.
Les organes mâles et femelles étant superposés . . . . . Hermaphrodisme superposé.
Les organes d'un côté étant tous de même sexe; ceux de l'autre côté étant les uns mâles, les autres femelles. . . . . Hermaphrodisme semilatéral.
Les organes droits étant d'un sexe, les gauches de l'autre. . . . . Hermaphrodisme latéral.
Les organes profonds du côté droit et les moyens du côté gauche étant d'un sexe, les autres de l'autre.. . . . . Hermaphrodisme croisé.
Appareil sexuel mâle avec quelques parties femelles surnuméraires. . . . . .
1re ORDRE.
HERMAPHRODISME MASCULIN COMPLEXE.
Appareil sexuel femelle avec quelques parties mâles surnuméraires. . . . . .
2e ORDRE.
HERMAPHRODISME FÉMININ COMPLEXE.
Un appareil sexuel mâle et un appareil femelle. . . . . .
HERMAPHRODISME BISEXUEL.
L'un des appareils ou tous deux incomplets. . . . . Hermaphrodisme bisexuel imparfait.
Les deux appareils complets (cas non réalisé). . . . . Hermaphrodisme parfait.

FIGURE 16.2 *Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire,* Histoire générale et particulière des anomalies de l'organisation chez l'homme et les animaux (A General and Particular History of Anomalies of Organization in Man and the Animals), *vol. 2, 36, "Tableau générale et méthodique des hermaphrodismes" ("General and Methodical Table of Hermaphrodisms").*
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In the top half, in the middle, of this chart, he repeats Paré's categories of hermaphrodites: masculine, feminine, neuter, and mixed or double. But, at the bottom of the chart, he adds some more categories, representing hermaphrodisms with excess: complex masculine hermaphrodism, complex feminine hermaphrodism, and bisexual hermaphrodism. The bisexual hermaphrodite with both sets of genitals ("appareils") complete does not exist, according to this chart, but is included to ensure some sort of balance. Already, the system has to supplemented in order to function in an orderly and regular fashion.

But the real surprise in this treatise is the illustration of the hermaphrodite in the "atlas" that accompanies it (*Atlas*, plate 4) (Figure 16.3). In a volume of beautiful and shocking lithographic images, almost all pictures of bodies, the hermaphrodites stand out as strikingly different. Placed between the anomalies and the monstrosities, they hold a sort of liminal position. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire places them between those bodies whose differences still allow them to function—the anomalies—and those bodies

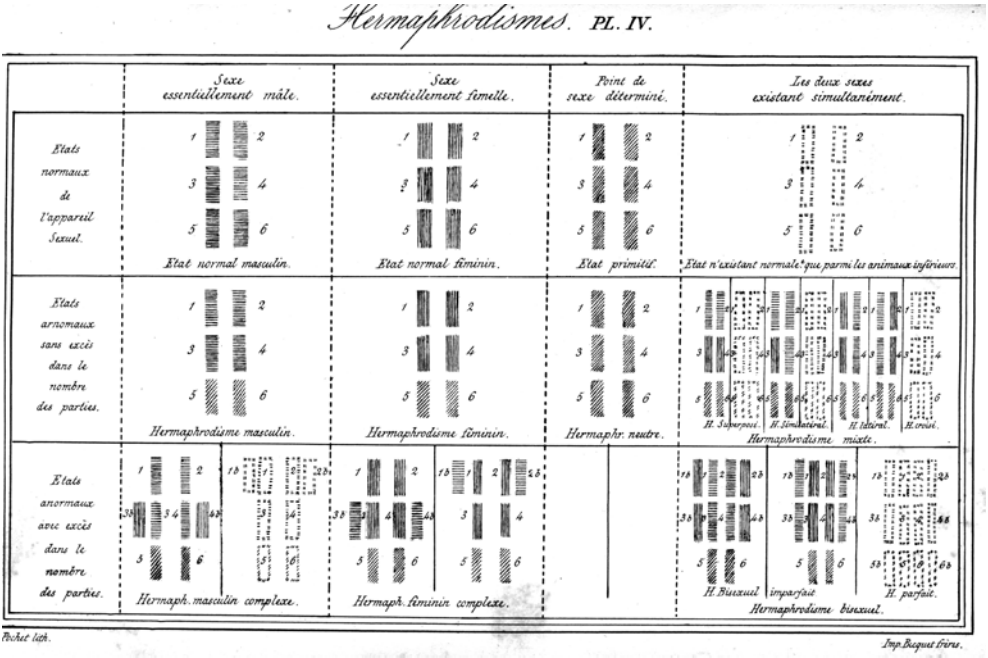

FIGURE 16.3 *Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire,* Histoire générale et particulière des anomalies de l'organisation chez l'homme et les animaux (A General and Particular History of Anomalies of Organization in Man and the Animals)*,* Atlas*, Plate 4, "Hermaphrodismes" ("Hermaphrodisms").*
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who are so different that their functioning is impaired—the monstrosities (Figure 16.4).

But, in the series of illustrations, the hermaphrodite is also not a body; in fact, it is the only illustration that is not a body, but rather a symbolic representation of bodies. What we have are rectangles, six per body, representing six parts of the "appareil sexuel" (normally a term used for the genitals). Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire offers a key or guide to the illustrations at the beginning of the atlas (*Atlas*, 4–5), but he is a little unclear on some of these parts. Two of them are *profonds* (the ovaries or testicles, and "their anatomical dependents"), two *moyens* (the uterus or prostate, the seminal vesicles, etc.) and two *externes* (the clitoris and vulva or the penis and scrotum). The even numbers represent the body parts on the left; the odd numbers represent the body parts on the right. Nothing could be more orderly and regular than this. Horizontal hatching marks the body parts that show masculine characteristics; vertical hatching marks those with feminine ones. Diagonal hatching indicates indeterminate body parts. Stippling around the edge of otherwise unmarked rectangles means double-sexed body parts, but the author assures us that these cases, while hypothetically possible, do not actually exist.

So, this system is nicely balanced because of the presence of hypothetical but non-existent cases on the chart. As you peruse the chart, you might notice that different types present different combinations of body parts, such that one aspect might be feminine, while all the others are masculine, or, conceivably, any other numerical variation allowed by the number of body parts and the number of possible variations. It is not clear from the text whether this chart is meant to be exhaustive or merely representative; if the latter, then there could be as many as 4,096 variations (or 4 to the 6th power). However, this is without counting the hermaphrodites with excessive body parts, potentially a doubling of these parts. If there are four different possibilities for 12 body parts (the chart does not represent this possibility except for the non-existent perfect hermaphrodite, but nonetheless…), then there are potentially 16,776,576 different types of hermaphrodites. In fact, if one imagines a variable number of excess body parts, the number of possible types becomes even larger. The bodily norms that confine the hermaphrodites to a realm between the anomalous and the monstrous thus actually create the potential for a huge number of possibilities. Note that the non-existent "perfect" hermaphrodite appears on this chart as well as on the one that appears within the text. And, where the hermaphrodites with an excessive number of parts of undetermined sex should be, there is a blank, raising the question of whether they exist at all. Thus, the chart achieves a certain degree of balance by leaving lacunae in some spots and adding non-existent bodies

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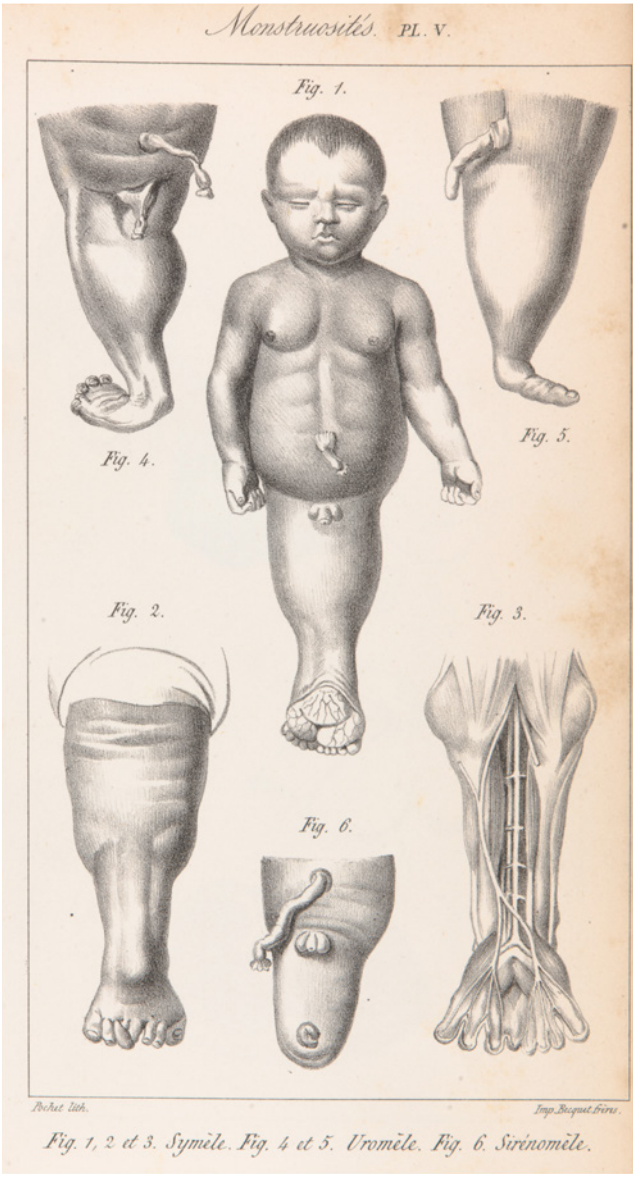

FIGURE 16.4 *Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire,* Histoire générale et particulière des anomalies de l'organisation chez l'homme et les animaux (A General and Particular History of Anomalies of Organization in Man and the Animals), Atlas*, Plate 5, "Monstruosités"* (*"Monstrosities"*).
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in others, thereby suggesting the impossibility of putting the body in order without manipulation.

This chart thus does a number of things. It puts the hermaphroditic body in order, makes it regular, by turning it into a series of geometrical forms with consistent patterns. And nonetheless, even within that regularity, the irregularity erupts into a proliferation of potential types, exceeding the capacities of this representation to control the number of possibilities. Also, the desire for symmetry and order causes the creation of types of bodies that do not in fact exist in nature (by the author's own admission). In short, the system, in its enthusiastic ordering of a profoundly disorderly body, explodes itself. This is the end point of Paré's six-gender theory, conceptually not really different from its predecessor. But it is also a disturbing example of how far the desire to master, categorize, organize, and regularize nature can go, effacing the body itself in favor of abstract concepts, concepts that themselves cannot hold together in any orderly fashion, but run away with the imaginative possibilities. As queer as this may seem, it is also profoundly repressive, denying the beauty of disorder in favor of an order that cannot hold, that cannot function in any reasonable way. One can see why Canguilhem rejects this disembodied version of knowledge, and why it was so dangerous, privileging as it did order over the lived "disorder" of the body. In fact, the living non-normative body is strikingly absent from both the treatise and the illustrations. The anomalies are represented in the atlas as body parts rather than complete bodies; the monstrosities are all clearly not living beings, but posed specimens depicted in disturbingly vivid illustrations.

The treatment of hermaphrodites is perhaps the most striking example of the inability of early modern and modern thought to encompass non-normative bodies in their systems of natural philosophy and the philosophy of medicine. In insisting upon the distinction between early modern and modern thought in this regard, we offer ourselves the illusion of progress when it comes to understanding non-normative bodies and minds. The persistent interest in certain types of non-normative bodies that represent Aristotelian models of excess and lack, the intense focus on the sexed body, and the drive to abstract that body into a supposedly rational system, even much of the vocabulary of teratology, can be seen as the heritage of ancient, medieval, and early modern discourses of monstrosity (with their giants and dwarves, hermaphrodites and conjoined twins). The combination of these discourses and these categories with post-Enlightenment rationalizing discourses seems in hindsight like a particularly troubling combination. Yet early modern discourses of monstrosity persist even today (autistic children are called "soulless" and "demonic" by

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groups using social media).[26] And in scientific circles treatises appeared on human "monstrosities" as late as Étienne Wolff's *La science des monstres*, published by Gallimard in 1948. The combination of this dehumanization of the non-normative body and mind with the impulse to put all of nature in order, to regularize it, no doubt fed the eugenics movement, the legacy of which we live with even today. The persistence of our inability to see physical and cognitive differences as something other than dysfunction—and thus our insistence on the term "disability"—seems clearly linked to this legacy. The figure of the hermaphrodite, with its non-normative body, is both the most striking example of this violently normalizing system, and proof of the dysfunction of the system itself. We need to move beyond this repulsion towards the non-normative body and mind, and accept what we see as disorder as really part of the order of nature.

What Montaigne contributes to this debate, then, is an elaboration of Augustinian theology and other forms of thought into an alternative way of thinking about nature and the body. While much of modern science has been predicated on the post-Cartesian assumption that the body is a predictable automaton, easily measured and controlled by scientific methods, Montaigne describes a body that escapes this control. Furthermore, in "Of the Power of the Imagination" (I.21), "The Apology for Raimond Sebond" (II.12), "Of Experience" (III.13), and other essays, Montaigne suggests that the uncontrollable body is an essential part of the process of knowing the world. Certainly this is a part of the critique of knowledge that dominates scientific thought even today; how can we know when our senses and intellect are limited by their embodiment? So, we develop technology to supplement or replace our imperfect bodies, only to discover that those imperfect bodies know more, and in more complex fashion, than the technology that we constructed. Our faith in the science we have devised on these grounds is perplexing. While Montaigne participates in this critique of knowledge, he also offers an alternative perspective. The imagination, that most bodily aspect of the mind, not only distorts what is real, but allows us to see what is possible: "Aussi en l'estude que je traitte de noz moeurs et mouvemens, les tesmoignages fabuleux, pourveu qu'ils soient possibles, y servent comme les vrais" (I.21, 105) ["So, in the study that I am making of our behavior and motives, fabulous testimonies, provided they are possible, serve like true ones" (75)]. What we can imagine, what is possible, can also be useful. It allows us to move beyond what is, to what could be. The variable body and

26 Andrew Solomon, "The Myth of the Autistic Shooter," *The New York Times*, October 12, 2015; http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/12/opinion/the-myth-of-the-autistic-shooter.html.

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the mind inextricably linked to it open up new avenues of thought even while deceiving us.[27]

These can be seen as two sides of the same coin. As William Newman has pointed out, this imaginative aspect of alchemy allowed men to consider the possibility of human perfectibility by scientific means.[28] This is not so distant from the Nazi eugenics based on quantification of bodily and cognitive difference. But, in the words of Montaigne, this imaginative possibility leads to the consideration that the monstrous bodies in this world suggest the perfectibility of the social order. This is to say, that Montaigne, even more than the alchemists, suggests that rather than making the body conform to a social or epistemological order, perhaps the social order should change to accommodate the body. This is the radical promise of Montaigne's humanism, echoed by disability rights activists, but not yet fully come to fruition.

As the opening pages of "Of Experience" make clear, Montaigne saw diversity as the one universal aspect of all of natural creation:

> La dissimilitude s'ingere d'elle mesme en nos ouvrages; nul art peut arriver à la similitude (…) le resemblance ne faict pas tant un comme la difference faict autre. Nature s'est obligée à ne rien faire autre, qui ne fust dissemblable.
>
> *ESSAIS*, III.13, 1065

> [Dissimilarity necessarily intrudes into our works; no art can attain similarity […] Resemblance does not make things so much alike as difference makes them unlike. Nature has committed herself to make nothing separate that was not different.]
>
> *ESSAYS*, 815

This statement explodes the scholastic approach to knowledge, which divides creation into universals and particulars, the former organizing the latter into conceptually elegant systems, and excluding as monstrous that which does not fit into those systems. For Montaigne, the ordering of the universe is an art best left to others; he consistently uses the term "art" (meaning "skill") rather than

27 For an elegant analysis of this aspect of the monstrous in Montaigne, see Kritzman, "Montaigne's Fantastic Monsters," cited above, note 18.

28 See *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), in particular Newman's chapter on "Artificial Life and the Homunculus," 164–237.

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"science" (or knowledge) to designate this work.[29] While Canguilhem's critique is often couched in the same scholastic rhetoric used by the scientists he takes to task, and while it is entirely dependent on citations from those scientists, Montaigne simply refuses the universalizing aspect of the philosophical/scientific endeavor altogether. Certainly Canguilhem uses the diversity of physical attributes to be found in different cultural contexts as one means of dismantling scientific generalizations, as does Montaigne. But this diversity is not the fundamental basis of his critique, as it is for Montaigne. For the essayist, the diversity of bodies and behaviors is at the very basis of the human experience, and it is for this reason that any universalizing approach to knowledge is ultimately doomed to failure. In this reliance on diversity, and the related concept of inconstancy, he veers away from the skeptical emphasis on quietude achieved through the suspension of judgment, as Sébastien Prat argues in his book *Constance et inconstance chez Montaigne*.[30]

In the world as described by Montaigne, then, the monsters, the abnormal, are everyone, everywhere. They are not simply the signs of the limitations of man's knowledge; rather, the sheer diversity of humanity continually escapes the grasp of systems of knowledge. Furthermore, what cannot be known or understood should not be controlled by these systems. In this context, Montaigne's critique of doctors takes on something more than a satirical aspect; in fact, it reveals the inadequacy of a simple critique of this failing system.[31]

---

29 "Je laisse aux artistes, et ne sçay s'ils en viennent à bout en chose si meslée, si menue et fortuite, de renger en bandes cette infinie diversité de visages, et arrester nostre inconstance et la mettre par ordre" (*Essais*, III.13, 1076) ["I leave it to artists, and I do not know if they will achieve it in a matter so complex, minute, and accidental, to arrange into bands this infinite diversity of aspects, to check our inconsistency and set it down in order" (*Essays*, 824)].

30 See the section on "L'Inconstance dans les *Hypotyposes Pyrrhoniennes*," in the chapter on "Inconstance, Doute, Irrésolution," *Constance et inconstance chez Montaigne* (Paris: Garnier, 2011), 65–69.

31 "Les arts qui promettent de nous tenir le corps en santé et l'ame en santé, nous promettent beaucoup; mais aussi n'en est il point qui tiennent moins ce qu'elles promettent. Et en nostre temps, ceux qui font profession de ces arts entre nous en montrent moins les effects que tous autres hommes. On peut dire d'eux pour le plus, qu'ils vendent les drogues medecinales; mais qu'ils soyent medecins, cela ne peut on dire" (*Essais*, III.13, 1079) ["The arts that promise to keep our body in health and our soul in health promise us much; but at the same time there are none that keep their promise less. And in our time those who profess these arts among us show the results of them less than any other men. The most you can say for them is that they sell medicinal drugs; but that they are doctors, you cannot say" (*Essays*, 827)].

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For Montaigne and Canguilhem, then, the living body escapes the measurement and control of the scientific or philosophical process. For Montaigne, this insight leads to the question of whether any system of thought could be adequate to the diversity and variety of man and nature. Whereas for Augustine, this diversity affords a moment of awe at the prospect of God's power, for Montaigne it becomes the basis of a very different way of thinking, one that starts from the assumption that "monstrosity" or irreducible difference is the basis of existence, an idea which calls the elaboration of universalizing systems into question. Montaigne imagines, at least at some moments in the *Essais*, a world without universals, one with only particulars.

This world is hard for the modern mind to conceive, shaped as it is by the positivist conception of science, yet doing so might be a useful and even necessary exercise. At the very edge of disability studies is the issue of cognitive difference, most evident at the moment in the dramatically increased number of diagnoses of autism, accompanied by the rhetoric, mentioned above, of the "soullessness" of those with autism in social media. So, the demonization of the different has shifted to cognitive rather than corporeal. The increase in diagnoses seems itself to be universal, transcending class, race, nationality, and to some degree gender. But the oft-repeated wisdom about individuals on the spectrum is that "When you've met one person with autism, you've met one person with autism." While certain characteristics might permit a diagnosis, the differences between various people with autism are often quite marked. Because of both its widespread nature and its diversity, this "disorder" has been resistant to explanation, and each case is best treated on an individual basis. At the same time, accommodations for people with autism seem to benefit others as well; this suggests that approaching students and workers as individuals rather than as elements within a mechanistic social system seems to elicit a positive outcome. But the tension between a social and economic system based on productivity (and thus an extreme version of normativity) and this individuality is evident; while some individuals on the spectrum flourish, most workers are treated like machines, and discarded when they cannot function in this mechanistic way.[32] Montaigne's model of universal diversity thus may not work well with our current economic system. But it is a model that should be considered as an alternative to universalizing approaches to questions of

32 For a cogent and detailed discussion of this issue, see David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, "Disability as Multitude: Reworking Nonproductive Labor Power," in *The Biopolitics of Disability: Neoliberalism, Ablenationalism, and Peripheral Embodiment* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2015), 204–22.

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"disability" and of bodily and cognitive differences in general. What if the so-called monsters, the abnormals, the disabled, were not the exception, but the rule? Would this make the normals, the neurotypicals, the abled, into monsters?

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CHAPTER 17

Montaigne's Response to the Alcibiades Question[1]

Cara Welch

> Il y avait, en effet, une question d'Alcibiade. Car ce pupille de Périclès semblait avoir poursuivi en politique une voie bien opposée à celle de son tuteur. Or, en vingt-cinq ans, on avait vu ce changement correspondre avec la ruine d'Athènes. Y avait-il un lien, et lequel? S'agissait-il, entre les deux générations d'une simple affaire de personnes et de tempéraments? Ou bien y avait-il une décadence plus large du sens civique et de la moralité dans les conduites politiques? Et cette décadence était-elle le signe, ou bien la cause, d'une crise dans la démocratie et dans son fonctionnement?
>
> JACQUELINE DE ROMILLY[2]

The questions Jacqueline de Romilly asks of Alcibiades (ca. 450–404 BCE) and his city's ruin grow out of a long literary tradition spanning from Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War* to Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades* (45 CE)—roughly five centuries.[3] While the numerous architects of this tradition come to Alcibiades from different perspectives and to different ends, they all grapple in one way or another with the nature of Alcibiades's character and his role

1 I thank George Hoffmann for the valuable comments he made after hearing the original version of this essay.

2 Jacqueline de Romilly, *Alcibiade ou Les Dangers de l'ambition* (Paris: Editions de Fallois, 1995), 10. See also Romilly's *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism*, trans. Philip Thody (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

3 David Gribble examines this body of historical, oratorical, and philosophical literature from the perspective of Alcibiades's complex relationship with the city of Athens, in *Alcibiades and Athens, A Study in Literary Presentation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999). W. Robert Conner's reading of Thucydides makes insightful parallels between character study and historical narrative, in *Thucydides* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984). For a similar approach to Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, see just about any study by Philip Stadter and Tim Duff.

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in Athens's fall from hegemony to stasis following the Peloponnesian War. To paraphrase Romilly:

> Given that Alcibiades' rise in influence was concurrent with Athens' swift ruin, should we not consider events in light of his daring political vision, which stood in contrast with the more conservative leadership of his predecessor and mentor, Pericles? Was this difference in leadership a simple matter of a difference in temperament between two generations? Or was there a more widespread decay of civic and political morality at work? And if so, was this decay the sign or the cause of a fundamental crisis in Athenian democracy?

There is no doubt here that human character, individual as well as collective, has a decisive impact on a state's well-being. It is less evident whether human character is in fact compatible with enduring civic prosperity. Extraordinary individuals lead their city to greatness, and to its demise. Political systems are as vulnerable to perversion as the human beings who devise and espouse them. Throughout his *Essays*, Michel de Montaigne elicits reflection on dilemmas germane to these and, I would argue, offers a portrait of Alcibiades that responds to the troubling question adumbrated above and in many interpretations of this famous, sometimes infamous figure: can the ineluctable force of human character be brought to bear on civic prosperity? Is enduring peace among humankind possible[4]? The pertinence of Montaigne's Alcibiades may seem doubtful given that he departs radically from conventional representations, as Géralde Nakam and especially Nicole Francine Minnick have observed.[5] Moreover, Alcibiades occupies very little space in the *Essays*. Montaigne's portrait is composed primarily of three brief passages, all of which are nearly devoid of any historical context. As a result, it has a strangely impersonal quality and falls short of depicting a complete individual. However, when we consider Alcibiades in the context of the passages and the essays in which he appears,

4 Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais*, eds. Pierre Villey and V.-L. Saulnier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004). Translations are from *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1981). I have retained the traditional ABC notation to indicate additions to the various editions of the *Essays*: A (1580, 1582), B (1588), C (after 1588).

5 Géralde Nakam, "Sur deux héros des *Essais*, Alcibiade, Julien l'Apostat," *Actes du IX^e Congrès Guillaume Budé* (*Rome, 13–18 avril 1973*) (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975), 2:651–70; Nicole F. Minnick, "An Enigma: Montaigne, Admirer of Alcibiades," *South Atlantic Review* 61, 2 (1996), 9–26. Jacqueline de Romilly mentions briefly the incongruity of Montaigne's Alcibiades (*Alcibiade*, 252).

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and then consider these in relation to each other, we see that Montaigne's arresting portrait is altogether coherent with the overarching moral and ethical design of his book.

Born during Athens's Golden Age, Alcibiades belonged to a city that prided itself on its democratic rule, cultural wealth, and the prosperity of its people. Athens was also an imposing imperial power among Greek states—so imposing, in fact, that Sparta formed an alliance with neighboring Greek states in order to ward off Athens's seemingly relentless expansion. Tension between Athens and Sparta eventually led to the Peloponnesian War, during which Alcibiades would acquire considerable influence. However, due to the historic times in which he lived and the magnitude of his ambition, Alcibiades's relationship with Athens was marked by a dramatic complexity that makes it difficult to judge the man or his career.

At the height of his influence Alcibiades won command of the Sicilian expedition, Athens's greatest imperialist undertaking in recent history. Many questioned, however, whether his aspirations were fueled by a devotion to Athens's greatness or by an undemocratic and dangerous form of individualism: Athens feared a tyrant in the making. Soon afterward, Alcibiades was implicated in two highly politicized scandals that led to a series of self-imposed exiles and dubious alliances with Sparta and the Persian governor, Tissaphernes.[6] Despite appearances, Alcibiades's wily determination in furthering his own interests did not preclude him from making decisive contributions to the Athenian cause. Finally, Athens lost perhaps its greatest asset and its greatest liability when Alcibiades was assassinated, reputedly while seeking assistance from a Persian king to advance Athens's fight against the Peloponnesian league.

Two characteristics recur with regular frequency in accounts of Alcibiades's life: his massive ambition and the ease with which he is able to espouse different cultures, and to influence other nations—even sworn enemies—as he did his own. In a rather bold move, Montaigne recasts these very traits in unequivocally positive terms. In essay I.26, "On Educating Children" ["De l'institution des enfans"], Alcibiades wins Montaigne's highest praise for his cultural versatility, and in II.36, "Of the Most Outstanding Men" ["Des plus excellens hommes"], he appears as a paragon of moderation. Montaigne's revisionist portrait is not the product of passing fancy. He turns to Alcibiades in every major edition of the *Essays*, suggesting that this figure occupies a special place among his repertoire of historical and philosophical exemplars. Moreover, these passages

6 Alcibiades was one of several people accused of mutilating Athens's *herms*, statues with protective powers placed throughout the city, and of mocking the Eleusinian Mysteries, a secret and sacred religious ritual (Gribble, *Alcibiades and Athens*, 81, 96–97).

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where Montaigne conveys his most emphatic praise for Alcibiades belong to the 1580 and 1595 editions, respectively, showing that his admiration remained consistent over time.[7]

Of the studies that acknowledge the surprising liberties Montaigne takes with Alcibiades, most germane to my own is Nicole Minnick's "An Enigma: Montaigne Admirer of Alcibiades." Minnick goes a long way toward recognizing the moral and ethical stakes at play in Montaigne's portrayal of Alcibiades, and rightly aligns them with the essayist's stance toward the French civil wars (21–24). However, she limits herself to the awkward and unrewarding position of attempting to reconcile Montaigne's invention with the historical Alcibiades. I would argue instead that Montaigne makes calculated use of this elusive figure precisely because he lends himself so well to exploratory discussion. To borrow a phrase from Margaret McGowan's study of Montaigne's indirect manner, Alcibiades is a product of the essayist's *craftie methode*.[8] He is one of the many deceits Montaigne deploys in order to elicit reflection on subjects that are not always well received when articulated in explicit terms, such as virtue, justice, and civil war. Indeed, Montaigne is drawn to the *manière* of the authors he reads as much as he is to their *matière*. It is what allows him to distinguish the foolish from the wise, and it is what he would have us consider foremost in his own writing: "[a] Qu'on ne s'attende pas aux matieres, mais à la façon que j'y donne" (408) ["Let attention be paid not to the matter, but to the shape I give it" (296)]. In essays I.26, II.36, and III.6, Montaigne appropriates the legendary figure of Alcibiades, and in so doing effectively posits the study

7 Minnick notes the regularity with which Montaigne turns to Alcibiades (14). Alcibiades appears a dozen times in the *Essays*.

8 Margaret M. McGowan, *Montaigne's Deceits: The Art of Persuasion in the "Essais,"* (London: University of London Press Ltd., 1974). Montaigne's *craftie* use of Alcibiades is, of course, contingent on his readers' familiarity with this polarizing historical figure. They would know Alcibiades by way of Plutarch's widely circulated *Parallel Lives*, which "more than any other text is responsible for transmitting an image of Alcibiades to the post-classical world" (Gribble, *Alcibiades and Athens*, 263). My reading of Montaigne's Alcibiades is informed by his reading of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, but more for the biographer's ingenious use of historical exemplars than for his depiction of the Athenian, who bears scant likeness to Montaigne's invention. Other notable works in which Alcibiades figures include Plato's *Symposium*, Erasmus's *Adages*, and Rabelais's Prologue to *Gargantua*. Michel de l'Hospital's less charitable use of Alcibiades at the 1560 Estates General also shows the Athenian to be a familiar figure to the Renaissance public. He refers to him as an evil fomenter of civil war, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. P. J. S. Dufey, 5 vols. (Paris: A Bouland, 1824–25), 1:387–88, cited in Minnick, "An Enigma," 10.

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of human character as a necessary first step toward understanding the ethical stance inhabiting his entire book.

Montaigne writes essay 1.26, "On Educating Children," from a decidedly moral perspective that shapes his vision of what it means to learn, as well as what and how we must study.[9] His approach is pragmatic: Montaigne delimits a scope of study in terms of what will be useful to forming one's judgment, with the explicit goal of becoming a better and wiser person. Ultimately, the effects of education should be visible in the way one lives. (152, 159, 168) In describing his own education, Montaigne insists he has no interest in accumulating knowledge for its own sake. Rather, he applies himself to essaying his natural faculties and uses writing as well as reading to test their limits: "[a] Quant aux facultez naturelles qui sont en moy, dequoy c'est icy l'essay, je les sens flechir sous la charge" (146) ["As for the natural faculties that are in me, of which this book is the essay, I feel them bending under the load" (107)].

The natural faculties that Montaigne essays include the rational, such as judgment, prudence, reason, and circumspection, as well as the irrational. These comprise natural inclinations, passions like fear and desire, and more generally, character. Foremost among the faculties Montaigne addresses here are judgment and character; they are at once the primary focus of moral education and the instruments of its realization.[10] While it might seem odd to refer to character as a faculty, Montaigne draws in this and other essays an essential relationship between character and judgment that recognizes in the former a certain agency: character is a most valuable resource which we strengthen the more we make good use of it. In 1.26 flexibility of character in particular plays an integral role in the learning process, and it is in terms of this quality that Montaigne offers up Alcibiades as the ultimate model of an accomplished student.

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9 Following Montaigne's lead, I use the terms *moral* and *moral philosophy* in the sense Cicero gives them at the (truncated) beginning of *On Fate*: "… because it relates to character, called in Greek *ethos*, while we usually term that part of philosophy 'the study of character', but the suitable course is to add to the Latin language by giving this subject the name of 'moral science,'" in Marcus Tullius Cicero, *On the Orator: Book 3. On Fate. Stoic Paradoxes. Divisions of Oratory*, ed. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942) 1:1. See Montaigne, "[a] Quant à Cicero, les ouvrages qui me peuvent servir chez luy à mon desseing, ce sont ceux qui traitent de la philosophie signamment morale" (413) ["As for Cicero, the works of his that can best serve my purpose are those that treat of philosophy, especially moral" (301)].

10 See Raymond C. La Charité, *The Concept of Judgment in Montaigne* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968).

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Alcibiades appears at the end of a passage where Montaigne considers the importance of being able to conform to one's own society's norms, and to adapt to those of different cultures. Such flexibility is important, Montaigne tells us, because it enables us to profit from conversing and interacting with others. To this end, we must keep our behavior and physical condition free of any strange habits that might shock our interlocutor. Also, we must be able and willing to adopt otherwise undesirable practices should circumstance make these an appropriate choice of conduct.

> [a] Toute estrangeté et particularité en nos meurs et conditions est evitable comme ennemie de communication et de societé [c] et comme monstrueuse. [...] [a] Et pourveu qu'on puisse tenir l'appetit et la volonté soubs boucle, qu'on rende hardiment un jeune homme commode à toutes nations et compaignies, voire au desreglement et aus exces, si besoing est. [c] Son exercitation suive l'usage. [a] Qu'il puisse faire toutes choses, et n'ayme à faire que les bonnes. (166–67)
>
> [Any strangeness and peculiarity in our conduct and ways is to be avoided as inimical to social intercourse, and unnatural. [...] And provided his appetite and will can be kept in check, let a young man boldly be made fit for all nations and companies, even for dissoluteness and excess, if need be. Let his training follow usage. Let him be able to do all things, and love to do only the good.] (123)

A certain awareness and willingness are integral to the kind of flexibility Montaigne has in mind here. We must practice good habits by choice and not from ignorance or the inability to perform less desirable ones. At the same time, Montaigne advocates adapting to circumstance and not adhering categorically to a moral ideal—as long as our desires and will remain in check. Stipulating that one maintain a temperate disposition while yielding to excess is not as incoherent as it may seem. In fact, we are looking at two distinct kinds of moderation: that of behavior and that of character. While one's behavior might be immoderate, one's character should remain disciplined and well-ordered. This latter form of moderation is precisely what differentiates adapting to circumstance from succumbing to it.

Montaigne illustrates this point with three examples where circumstance calls for drinking more than one's usual practice. The first and third figure individuals who find themselves at a regrettable disadvantage because they were either unwilling or unable to accommodate such excess. The second example figures a man more amenable to the occasional overindulgence, and able to

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yield to it without consequence to his health (167). It is here that we encounter Alcibiades, who offers a fourth and especially apt example because he has a very wide range of flexibility.

> [a] J'ay souvent remarqué avec grand' admiration la merveilleuse nature d'Alcibiades, de se transformer si aisément à façons si diverses, sans interest de sa santé: surpassant tantost la somptuosité et pompe Persienne, tantost l'austerité et frugalité Lacedemoniene; autant reformé en Sparte comme voluptueux en Ionie [...]. Tel voudrois-je former mon disciple. (167)

> [I have often noticed with great admiration the wonderful nature of Alcibiades, who could change so easily to suit such different fashions, without damage to his health; now outdoing the Persians in luxury and pomp, now the Lacedaemonians in austerity and frugality; as pure in Sparta as he was voluptuous in Ionia. [...] So I would make my pupil.] (124)

Alcibiades's nature is such that he can adapt to cultures characterized by lavish excess or extreme self-restraint, as easily as if they were his own. This would indeed make him particularly suited to profiting from the conversation and company of pretty much everyone. To be sure, Montaigne's great admiration gives pause when we recall that the very moments in Alcibiades's life alluded to here are occasioned by the Athenian's questionable political allegiances. But the absence of any substantial historical context, and the overriding pertinence of his example, invite us to look beyond a simple comparison of Montaigne's summary portrait with conventional representations of the historical figure. When we consider Alcibiades in the context in which he appears we see that he also embodies moderation, a quality essential to flexibility, and every bit as surprising. Alcibiades's temperate disposition is discernable in his ability to espouse radically different ways without compromising his health ("sans interest de sa santé"). It is unlikely that Montaigne refers here exclusively, if at all, to physical endurance. His allusion to human nature, self-transformation, and to culturally specific norms places a certain emphasis on character, national as well as personal, so that the idea of uncompromised health should be seen to encompass moral integrity. Alcibiades remains self-aware and in possession of his natural faculties ("l'appetit et la volonté soubs boucle") even though he adopts foreign practices so well as to blend in entirely with another culture. Thus, in conjunction with moderation, moral flexibility implies a greater command of one's moral well-being, as well as the ability to profit from the

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company of others. The full measure of Alcibiades's exemplarity—his facility in adapting to all manner of human society—becomes clear when we consider it in light of what Montaigne would have us study.

In "On Educating Children" Montaigne presents a curriculum composed essentially of people. In fact, everyone is a worthy object of study: one's acquaintances, regardless of station, as well as people of neighboring countries. Traveling is encouraged. Following Socrates, Montaigne expands this corpus to encompass all of humanity such that the entire world, past and present, becomes a book to explore, a forum for testing one's judgment. To this end, history, especially Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, is a valuable resource. Readers who follow Montaigne's recommendation will find that the motive of these unusual biographies is not to recount the major events of history, but rather to examine the character and judgment of illustrious statesmen in light of these events. Above all, Plutarch emphasizes the more ordinary moments of his subjects' lives which do not figure in conventional histories, and he keeps his portraits purposefully inconclusive such that his readers must form their own judgments of them. These qualities are precisely what makes his work useful to Montaigne's pupil. And, like Montaigne, Plutarch believes that deliberate consideration of such lives will engender an affection for good moral qualities and a distaste for undesirable ones (150–58).[11]

For Montaigne, moral philosophy is another essential tool for furthering one's education, a natural pendant to the study of historical lives. It is the lens through which he would have his pupil apprehend the world, since it is through philosophy that we come to form our judgment and character. And, not least of all, philosophy is universally pertinent: "[a] toutes heures luy seront unes, toutes places luy seront estude: car la philosophie, qui, comme formatrice des jugements et des meurs, sera sa principale leçon, a ce privilege de se mesler par tout" (164) ["all hours will be the same, all places will be his study; for philosophy, which, as the molder of judgment and conduct, will be his principle lesson, has this privilege of begin everywhere at home" (121–22)]. Referring to

11 Montaigne emphasizes Plutarch's reflection on the inner life of his subjects in essay II.10, "On Books": "[a] Or ceulx qui escrivent les vies, d'autant qu'ils s'amusent plus aux conseils qu'aux evenemens, plus à ce qui part du dedans qu'à ce qui arrive au dehors, ceux là me sont plus propres. Voylà pourquoy, en toutes sortes, c'est mon homme que Plutarque" (416) ["Now those who write biographies, since they spend more time on plans than on events, more on what comes from within than on what happens without, are most suited to me. That is why in every way Plutarch is my man" (303)]. Plutarch explains how and why he writes the *Lives* in his introductions to the lives of Alexander the Great, Paul Emile, and Pericles, among others.

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his hypothetical pupil, Montaigne adds, not without humor: "[a] Ainsi, sans doubte, il chomera moins que les autres" (165) ["Thus he will doubtless be less idle than others" (122)]. By these standards, Montaigne's Alcibiades is indeed a most widely read student and altogether deserving of the highest praise. His flexibility of character is precisely what makes possible the kind of intellectual and moral development favored by human interaction, in this world or through the world of books.

Ultimately, the moderate disposition Alcibiades embodies signifies as a moderate attachment to one's opinions, a kind of intellectual flexibility that enables one to explore and to be receptive to different opinions, to recognize the weakness of one's judgment—that is can be wrong—and to embrace the more judicious opinions of others. It also enables one to recognize the natural limitations of human reason in terms of what one can and cannot know, and to suspend one's judgment when remaining in doubt is the better choice. A moderate disposition is similarly crucial to studying the diversity of human experience and, in the process, to recognizing the limits of one's own character and especially the limits of human character universally. A moderate attachment to moral ideals makes us more inclined to match the nature and degree of our moral aspirations with our individual capacities, and above all, to recognize the relative nature of moral ideals. In other words, to discern moral ideals that respect the natural fabric of human character from partisan ideals that champion convenient moral qualities as absolutes. The broader implications of Montaigne's admiration for Alcibiades come into focus when, like Minnick, we place it in the context of the French civil wars. Indeed, so much of what horrifies Montaigne about these wars stems from daily examples of people attempting to surpass or disregard their human condition because of their obstinate attachment to what are ultimately arbitrary opinions and inhuman ideals. In essay II.36 Montaigne presents Alcibiades as a paragon of human moderation, a necessary pendant to the flexible Alcibiades of I.26.

As its title suggests, in II.36, "Of the Most Outstanding Men," Montaigne examines a selection of illustrious figures and in the process reflects on the particularities of each man's excellence. Homer, Alexander the Great, and especially Alcibiades serve as foils to Epaminondas, the culminating example of this cautionary essay where Montaigne questions different forms of excellence that transgress or test the natural limits of human capacity. Even though Alcibiades appears here only after 1588, he occupies a privileged place because he alone garners Montaigne's unconditional admiration.

Regarding Homer, Montaigne questions the poet's supreme reputation, though not in terms of his works. These he clearly admires for how they manage to embrace the entirety of human existence, thus offering a neat complement

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to the image of world as book in I.26. Instead, Montaigne challenges the godlike status Homer has attained, as it does nothing to convey the essential value of his poetry. On trial here are the well-established literary trope of the *laus Homeri*, and a simpleminded reverence inspired solely by the poet's reputation. Montaigne challenges the first when he suggests that Homer's spontaneous and perfect mastery of all of the sciences places him somewhat above the human condition ("quasi au dessus de l'humaine condition"), and that the supreme excellence of his work goes against the natural order of things ("contre l'ordre de nature"). Homer gave birth to poetry in its most mature, perfect, and accomplished form ("meure," "parfaicte," "accomplie"), whereas nature dictates that things come into this world imperfect and then grow and strengthen over time (752–53).[12] Thus, in seeking to honor the poet, his greatest admirers have effectively divested him of the very quality he so artfully and insightfully examines in his heroes: their humanity. Montaigne ends his judgment of Homer's reputation with a series of humorous examples meant to illustrate the poet's unsurpassed glory, but which in fact expose the superficial knowledge on which it is based. He marvels, for instance, that people still name their children after Homer's heroes over three thousand years after he invented them, then asks with evident irony who could possibly not know Hector and Achilles: "[a] Nos enfans s'appellent encore des noms qu'il forgea il y a plus de trois mille ans. Qui ne cognoit Hector et Achilles?" (753). Such hyperbolic and petty reverence for the poet's works are completely lacking in the thoughtful manner of study evinced in I.26, and Montaigne's treatment of them invites us to be mindful of how we interpret exemplary status. It also resonates with the interpretation he gives of Alcibiades's character, since the historical Alcibiades's reputation is of little help in appreciating Montaigne's adaptation of it in the *Essays*.

Montaigne's judgment of Alexander the Great's excellence is more obviously damning and sets up a significant parallel for Epaminondas, as well as for Alcibiades. As with Homer, the magnitude of Alexander's accomplishments lends him something approaching superhuman status. Considering that he "attained, in half a lifetime, the utmost achievement of human nature" (571) ["[b] en une demye vie avoir atteint tout l'effort de l'humaine nature" (754)], Montaigne challenges his readers to imagine Alexander living a normal lifespan without also imagining something lying beyond the reach of humankind ("[b] quelque chose au dessus de l'homme"). When Montaigne elaborates on

12 For Renaissance perspectives on Homer and the *laus Homeri* trope, see Mark Bizer's *Homer and the Politics of Authority in Renaissance France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Phillip Ford's *De Troie à Ithaque. Réception des épopées homériques à la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz: 2007).

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Alexander's fulfillment of human potential, he references examples of magnanimity but emphasizes acts of cruelty, making it clear that this all too human exemplar excelled in doing evil as well as good. By way of several ironic and altogether unconvincing justifications, Montaigne further showcases the horrifying consequences of Alexander's moral inconsistency, leaving no doubt as to the ambivalent meaning of "excellens" (754). While Alexander is certainly one of the most illustrious men of history, in this essay he represents above all the dangers inherent to an exaggerated desire to excel, from the Latin *excellere* meaning "to surpass," as in to surpass human nature. Montaigne seems to extend this lesson to encompass all outstanding figures when he contrasts Alexander with Cesar. The basis of this comparison is to establish which man left the lesser trail of devastation in his wake. Montaigne elects Alexander over the more moderate Roman—in comparisons everything is relative—since Caesar's ambitions led to the ruin of his country and the universal degradation of the world (755). We would do well here to recall Montaigne's judgment of Homer's reputation, and use more than a little discernment when yielding to our admiration for such excellent lives. The example of Epaminondas occasions a similar lesson.[13]

When Montaigne considers the Theban's moral excellence in the first edition of II.36, he gives particular weight to his statesmanship because this, we are told, is the most important context in which to judge a man's character (756). However, Montaigne then imputes two instances of "exceeding goodness" ("excessive bonté") to qualify his admiration. These are Epaminondas's opinions that "it was [not] permissible, even to recover the freedom of his country, to kill a man without full knowledge of the case" (574) ["qu'il [ne] fut loisible, pour recouvrer mesmes la liberté de son pays, de tuer un homme sans connoissance de cause" (757)] and that "in battle a man should avoid encountering a friend who was on the opposite side, and spare him" ["en une bataille il falloit fuyr le rencontre d'un amy qui fut au party contraire, et l'espargner"]. Montaigne's reservations give pause; is he once again being ironic? Unlike Alexander's actions, there is nothing inherently unnatural or transgressive about the Theban's opinions, nor do they lead to any foreseeable tragic consequences; quite the contrary. Montaigne facilitates our understanding of these otherwise puzzling flaws by placing in dialogue his judgment of Epaminondas

13 David Quint gives a different reading of Epaminondas's exemplary status in the *Essays* in *Montaigne and the Quality of Mercy: Ethical and Political Themes in the* Essais (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). For Quint, Epaminondas represents an unconditional capacity for clemency, which, he argues, is the moral quality Montaigne champions foremost above all other moral and ethical ideals (40–41).

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in II.36 with his judgment of the Theban general in III.1 "On the useful and the honorable" ["De l'utile et de l'honeste"]. In the later essay, Montaigne warns us against trying to imitate Epaminondas because the man's ability to champion civic interests while remaining true to his moral ideals lies well beyond our own powers.

> [b] J'ay autrefois logé Epaminondas au premier rang des hommes excellens, et ne desdy pas. […] [L]uy qui, pour ce bien inestimable de rendre la liberté à son pays, faisoit conscience de tuer un Tyran […] sans les formes de la Justice; et qui jugeoit meschant homme, quelque bon Citoyen qu'il fut, celuy qui, entre les ennemys et en la bataille, n'espargnoit son amy et son hoste. […] C'est miracle de pouvoir mesler à telles actions quelque image de justice; mais il n'appartient qu'à la roideur d'Epaminondas d'y pouvoir mesler la douceur et la facilité des meurs les plus molles [c] et la pure innocence. (801–2)
>
> [I once placed Epaminondas in the first rank of men, and I do not take this back. […] [h]e who never killed a man he had vanquished, who even for the inestimable good of restoring liberty to his country scrupled to kill a tyrant […] without due form of justice, and who judged anyone a wicked man, however good a citizen he was, who among his enemies and in battle did not spare his friend and his host. […] It is a miracle to be able to mingle some semblance of justice with such actions; but it belongs only to the strength of Epaminondas to be able to mingle with them the sweetness and ease of the gentlest ways, and pure innocence. (609)

Montaigne's allusion here to II.36, and his use of this essay's examples to illustrate Epaminondas's miraculous accommodation of private and public imperatives, make it clear that the message of III.1 speaks to his judgment of the man in II.36. He subsequently amplifies this resonance with a reference to Epaminondas's "pure innocence" in the C-text of III.1 (quoted above) that echoes a B-text addition to II.36 lauding the Theban's statesmanship in identical terms: "In this man innocence is a key quality, sovereign, constant, uniform, incorruptible" (573) ["En cettuy-cy l'innocence est une qualité propre, maistresse, constante, uniforme, incorruptible" (756)]. It is precisely this innocence that expresses the perfect and thus inimitable quality of Epaminondas's goodness.[14] The transgression Montaigne associates with his alleged flaw lies not

14 Quint rightly notes the etymological force of "innocence" here to mean without inflicting harm (38).

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with the man himself nor with the ideal he embodies, but with any attempt to emulate his perfection of it. In the C-text of II.36 Alcibiades presents a more viable approach to pursuing one's moral aspirations, one which Montaigne admires unconditionally.

Montaigne subtly tucks his description of Alcibiades in between his lament at the loss of Plutarch's *Life of Epaminondas* and his puzzling reservations regarding the Theban's excessive goodness. His uninterrupted encomiastic tone blurs the transition and infuses his description of the Athenian with the intensity of his admiration for the Theban—and for Plutarch.[15]

> [c] O quel desplaisir le temps m'a faict d'oster de nos yeux à poinct nommé, des premieres, la couple de vies justement la plus noble qui fust en Plutarque, de ces deux personages, par le commun consentement du monde l'un le premier des Grecs, l'autre des Romains! Quelle matiere, quel œuvrier! Pour un homme non sainct, mais galant homme qu'ils nomment, de meurs civiles et communes, d'une hauteur moderée, la plus riche vie que je sçache à estre vescue entre les vivans, comme on dict, et estoffée de plus de riches parties et desirables, c'est, tout consideré, celle d'Alcibiades à mon gré. Mais quant à Epaminondas,.... (757)

> [Oh, what displeasure time has given me by withholding from our eyes precisely, out of the first lives, the noblest pair of lives there was in Plutarch, those of these two men, by the common agreement of the world, one the first of the Greeks, the other of the Romans! What a subject, what a workman! For a man who was not a saint, but what they call a man of the world, of civil and common ways, of moderate eminence, the richest life that I know to have been lived among the living, as they say, and the one composed of the most rich and desirable qualities, is, all things considered, in my opinion, that of Alcibiades. But as for Epaminondas,.... (573)

When we finally arrive at the end of this passage we are surprised to see that Montaigne has shifted his attention from Epaminondas to Alcibiades. Yet once we recognize his conceit the difference between the two men is clear.

15 In this passage, as in those from III.6 and Plato's *Symposium* quoted below, the texts' orality plays to their meaning. Many thanks to Scott Juall, Pascale Barthe, and Jeff Persels, who performed them during the 2013 SCSC iteration of this article so that we could appreciate them more fully.

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Montaigne inclines to Alcibiades because of his perfect humanity, expressed here in the mildness of his disposition. Even Alcibiades's eminence is moderate. This makes his exemplarity more accessible, more livable (*vie*, *vescue*, *vivans*), and so most desirable.

The dialogue between essays II.36 and III.1 also links the civic context in which Montaigne judges Epaminondas, to his portrayal of Alcibiades. In both essays Montaigne chooses personal integrity over political imperative. More specifically, he nearly frames III.1 with two pleas that champion the moderate flexibility and humanity characteristic of our Athenian, thus making him an ethical as well as a moral model:

> [b] Le bien public requiert qu'on trahisse et qu'on mente [c] et qu'on massacre; [b] resignons cette commission à gens plus obeissans et plus soupples [...]; laissons là cette justice enorme et hors de soy, et nous tenons aus plus humaines imitations. (791, 803)

> [The public welfare requires that a man betray and lie and massacre; let us resign this commission to more obedient and suppler people. [...] Let us abandon this monstrous and deranged justice and stick to more human imitations. (600, 610)

In essay III.6, "Of Coaches" ("Des coches"), Montaigne has Alcibiades enact the qualities with which previously he only described him.

Montaigne might easily have brought to bear the historical Alcibiades's imperialist ambitions on the condemnation of early modern colonial expansion that traverses III.6. Instead, he invokes the Alcibiades of philosophical tradition. As in "De l'institution des enfans," Montaigne precedes Alcibiades with an example taken from his own experience which he uses to posit the advantage of cultivating a moderate disposition. Montaigne acknowledges having known fear in the face of danger but stresses that his fear was tempered by courage. The two passions are complementary; together they enabled him to flee peril in an orderly fashion, rather than remain nailed to the spot or act impulsively. Montaigne then contrasts his lucid state of alarm with the proud and complete courage of Socrates as he retreats from the Athenians' defeat at the battle of Delium (899). Because it is Alcibiades who relates these events, what he reveals of Socrates is revealing also of himself. When compared to the passage from Plato's *Symposium*, Montaigne's source, the most remarkable quality of the essayist's interpretation is the composure—or sobriety—with which Alcibiades describes his sometime lover and mentor.

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Je le trouvay apres la route de nostre armée, luy et Lachez, des derniers entre les fuyans; et le consideray tout à mon aise et en seureté, car j'estois sur un bon cheval et luy à pied, et avions ainsi combatu. Je remerquay premierement combien il montroit d'avisement et de resolution au pris de Lachez, et puis la braverie de son marcher, nullement different du sien ordinaire, sa veue ferme et reglée, considerant et jugeant ce qui se passoit autour de luy, regardant tantost les uns, tantost les autres, amis et ennemis, d'une façon qui encourageoit les uns et signifioit aux autres qu'il estoit pour vendre bien cher son sang et sa vie à qui essayeroit de la luy oster; et se sauverent ainsi: car volontiers on n'ataque pas ceux-cy; on court apres les effraiez. (899–900b)

["I found him," he says, "after the rout of our army, him and Laches, among the last of the fugitives; and I observed him at my leisure and in safety, for I was on a good horse and he on foot, and we had fought that way. I noticed first how much presence of mind and resolution he showed compared with Laches; and then the boldness of his walk, no different from his ordinary one, his firm and steady gaze, considering and judging what was going on around him, looking now at one side, now the other, friends and enemies, in a way that encouraged the former and signified to the latter that he was a man to sell his blood and his life very dear to anyone who should try to take them away. And thus they made their escape; for people are not inclined to attack such men; they run after the frightened ones."] (686)

You should have seen him at our horrible retreat from Delium. I was there with the cavalry, while Socrates was a foot soldier. The army had already dispersed in all directions, and Socrates was retreating together with Laches. I happened to see them just by chance, and the moment I did I started shouting encouragements to them, telling them I was never going to leave their side, and so on. That day I had a better opportunity to watch Socrates than I ever had at Potidaea, for, being in horseback, I wasn't in very great danger. Well, it was easy to see that he was remarkably more collected than Laches. But when I looked again I couldn't get your words, Aristophanes, out of my mind: in the midst of battle he was making his way exactly as he does around town, '… with swagg'ring gait and roving eye.' He was observing everything quite calmly, looking out for friendly troops and keeping an eye on the enemy. Even from a distance it was obvious that this was a very brave man, who would put up a terrific fight if anyone approached him. This is what saved both of them. For, as a rule,

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> you try to put as much distance as you can between yourself and such men in battle; you go after the others, those who run away helter-skelter.
>
> *SYMPOSIUM*, 221A–C[16]

On the one hand, Montaigne's Alcibiades refers to himself only to establish the conditions enabling him to flee while remaining an even-keeled and keen observer of Socrates. The resemblance with the essayist is unmistakable. Gone are the drunken symposiast's mock-heroic shouts of encouragement. Here, Socrates stands out on the battlefield for maintaining his habitual demeanor and practice of studying the world around him. On the other hand, Plato's Alcibiades is visibly narcissistic. His account begins with a dramatic performance that calls attention primarily to himself, and when he bothers to look more closely at Socrates, his mind wanders to Aristophanes's caricature of the man as a laughable sophist in *The Clouds*.[17] Finally, if Socrates appears different in Montaigne's text it is because Alcibiades himself is different. His insightful observations are the effect of the flexible and ordered soul for which Montaigne singles him out in I.26 and II.36. As a result, his observations signify more than proverbial wisdom; they demonstrate an expert understanding of the workings of human nature. In essay I.1, "By Diverse Means We Arrive at the Same Ends" ["Par divers moyens on arrive a pareille fin"], Montaigne sets up an ostensibly doomed relationship between the weak and the strong that provides a context for showing the practical relevance of Alcibiades to the troubled times in which he wrote the *Essays*.

In his first essay, Montaigne explores the relative merits of submission and defiance when seeking to elicit an adversary's mercy. Initially Montaigne is optimistic—both strategies have proven effective—but by the end of his investigation he seems prepared to concede defeat: human beings are simply too unpredictable for either strategy to be reliable. In his final example Montaigne speculates as to why Alexander the Great, "[b] the bravest of men and one very gracious to the vanquished" (5) ["le plus hardy des homes et gracieux aux vaincus" (9–10)] is also known to have inflicted astonishing cruelty on those he defeated. Could it be that courage was so commonplace to him that no act of fearless defiance could elicit his admiration? Or, was Alexander's opinion of his own courage so proprietary that he could not bear to witness the courage of another? To be sure, Alexander's cruelty is a spectacular display

16 Plato, *Symposium*, trans. Alexander Nahamas and Paul Woodruff, in *The Complete Works of Plato*, eds. John M. Cooper and D. S. Hutchinson (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1997), 221a-c.

17 Referenced by Cooper in a previsiously cited edition of *Symposium*, 503 n. 59.

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of uncontrollable anger, but Montaigne's questions invite us to examine it as the product of an immoderate disposition toward courage: he is incapable of acting with mercy because his admiration for courage is either too little or too great. In the terms of Montaigne's Alcibiades, Alexander's immoderation renders him inflexible. Finally, either one of these exemplars enables us to restore the same felicitous outcome to the different strategies Montaigne explores in this essay. Both suggest, each in his own way, that the *moyens* of its title refers to a diversity of moderate qualities—submission, defiance, compassion, admiration—as in so many arithmetic means. These are what make it possible for a vanquisher to quit his battlefield anger and respond favorably to a similarly measured appeal for clemency.[18]

Clearly, for Montaigne, his Alcibiades embodies the moral ideal best suited to diffusing or eschewing situations of conflict, as well as, presumably, to preserving a state of peace. We might, then, be justified in imagining our essayist responding with guarded optimism to the dilemmas raised by the historical Alcibiades. Yes, human character is potentially compatible with enduring civic harmony. But Montaigne says more with his invention; it effectively engages with the dilemma at hand. We see this, for instance, when we consider the final argument Thucydides's historical counterpart puts forth in Book VI of the *History* in order to win support for the Sicilian expedition.

> I have no doubt whatsoever in my mind that a city never inactive would be soonest ruined by change to inaction, and that men who conduct their affairs with the least violence to their normal character and customs, even if these are less than ideal, are the ones who live in the greatest security.[19]

As Montaigne would have it, Alcibiades appeals here to the wisdom of aligning one's actions with one's character, which, even if imperfect, is the better touchstone. However, the character he invokes is either national (city) or in part cultural (custom), and so based on an arbitrary norm, whereas the normative qualities Montaigne's Alcibiades stands for are universally human and derive from the careful study of the workings of all manner of human behavior. In a more complete response, then, Montaigne might recall the limited influence institutional authority has in regulating human behavior, especially

18 For a more complete version of this reading, see my article "Accommodating Means and Ends in Montaigne's First Essay," *Bulletin de la Société Internationale des Amis de Montaigne* 51 (2010), 7–21.

19 *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Steven Lattimore (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1998), 6:18.

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during periods of conflict—something to which Thucydides's Alcibiades could attest. This, of course, is why Montaigne's political and religious conservatism in the *Essays* signify less forcefully as an expression of loyalty to the monarchy or the Catholic church, than as a rejection of institutional change or reform. In response to the dilemmas of his own times, Montaigne advocates individual moral education.

Moral education is the focus of *Alcibiades I*, a Socratic dialogue in which the eponymous figure comes to realize that he must first learn to care for and govern himself before he can govern others successfully. Despite the evident pertinence of this stance to Montaigne's thinking, in crafting his arresting interpretation of Alcibiades he engages foremost with the expectations we have of the historical figure. Moreover, early modern thinkers showed increasing interest in Thucydides's *History*. Monarchomachs, royalists, republicans, and imperialists alike culled from it to support their various political convictions. Thucydides was called on to decry the tyranny of oppression and to legitimize expansion—naturally, champions of this last cause invoked Alcibiades for his own imperialist ambitions. Passages of the *History* figure in the *Vindiciae, contra tyrannos* (1579), Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1576), and Justus Lipsius's *Politica* (1589).[20] Because Alcibiades plays a significant role in the *History*, I would suggest that contemporary fascination for Thucydides lends a rich context for further study of Montaigne's appropriation of this figure.

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20 Kinch Hoekstra notes that "by the late sixteenth century, Thucydides was regularly held up as an authority about the legitimacy of imperial expansion and preventive attack, and was read as providing a clear-eyed view of the underlying realities of power." "Thucydides and the Bellicose Beginning of Modern Political Theory," in *Thucydides and the Modern World: Reception, Reinterpretation and Influence from the Renaissance to the Present*, eds. Katherine Harloe and Neville Morley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 27.

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PART 5

On the Sciences and Knowledge Networks

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CHAPTER 18

France's Mid-Sixteenth-Century Imperial Gaze on Canada: The Dieppe School of Hydrography, the Kingdom of Saguenay, and the *Mise en scène* of Possession

Scott D. Juall

Between May 15, 1535, and July 16, 1536, Jacques Cartier captained his second colonial expedition to Canada where, searching for a northwest trade route to Asia and new sources of wealth along the way, he explored the coast of the St. Lawrence River as far as Ochelaga (Montréal) and established a settlement near Stadacona (Québec). While in Canada, Cartier learned from the Stadaconans of a legendary kingdom, "la terre du Saguenay, où il y a infinité d'or, rubis, et autres richesses" ["the land of Saguenay, where there are immense quantities of gold, rubies, and other rich things"], which became the principal goal for the remainder of the expedition.[1] During their numerous attempts to reach Saguenay, the French were repeatedly led astray as the Amerindians provided inconsistent geographical information and the rivers allegedly leading to the kingdom were blocked by dangerous waterfalls and rapids. Although Cartier never reached Saguenay, upon returning to France he described his quest for the kingdom to François I^{er} in both oral and written reports and he presented a manuscript map of the coast of the St. Lawrence River to him. Donnacona, chief of the Stadaconans whom the French brought back with them, also testified to the king of the riches purportedly found in Saguenay.[2]

These reports had a profound effect on François I^{er}, who began conceiving of sending subsequent colonial voyages to Canada. In January 1539, the

1 Jacques Cartier, *Les Trois Voyages de Jacques Cartier* (*1534–1541*), in *Voyages au Canada: Avec les relations des voyages en Amérique de Gonneville, Verrazano et Roberval*, ed. Charles-André Julien, R. Herval, Th. Beauchesne (Paris: La Découverte, 1981), 234, and *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, trans. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 82. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

2 For Cartier's statements on the influence that Donnacona's report of the riches in Saguenay exerted on François I^{er}'s interest in sending future expeditions there, see Cartier, *Les Trois Voyages*, 234 and 247 [Cartier, *The Voyages*, 82 and 97].

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monarch, who understood the importance of cartography in planning overseas expeditions, summoned a Portuguese pilot to his court to advise him on cosmographical affairs. João Lagarto described this encounter in a letter that he sent to King João III of Portugal. He stated that after he displayed his Portuguese nautical charts to François Ier, the latter, who was greatly pleased to see them,

> showed me two charts belonging to him, well painted and illuminated, but not very accurate, and he showed me a river in the land of Cod, marked out and set down at his request, and he has sent there twice, and he has in this matter a great desire and longing … and what he wishes to do would make men marvel. He spoke of this many times until I seemed to see it with his eyes.[3]

Lagarto adds that what mesmerizes François Ier is "a large city called Sagana, where there are many mines of gold and silver in great abundance. And thus … seeing his great desire, I believe he will again send there a third time; and he told me that he wished to build a fort well up the Sagana river and to reach the great city" (78–79).[4]

This nautical chart, in addition to Cartier's reports, clearly stimulated François Ier's interest in sending additional colonial expeditions to Canada. During the planning of the third and fourth expeditions to Canada, led by Cartier (1541–42) and Jean-François de la Roque de Roberval (1542–43), the French king's vision of establishing a colony adjacent to Saguenay is one of the primary factors motivating France's quest for territory in Canada, as stated explicitly in the commissions for both expeditions.[5] François Ier's vision of a French settlement near Saguenay constitutes an instance of an imperial gaze,

3 See "Letter from Lagarto to John the Third, King of Portugal" (January 22, 1539), in *Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval*, ed. Henry Percival Biggar (Ottawa: Public Archives, 1930), 76.

4 In his letter to the Portuguese king, João Lagarto states that he discussed with François Ier the role that Donnacona played in inspiring the king's vision of Saguenay. Lagarto reports that François Ier told him that Donnacona had said that his people back in Canada would help the French over the rapids and waterfalls found in rivers along the route to Saguenay; it appears thus that the French would be fully capable of reaching Saguenay with the help of the Stadaconans (Biggar, *Documents*, 79–80).

5 Both commissions name Saguenay as one of the primary goals of the expeditions. See Cartier's commission, "Charge de cappitaine et pilotte general des navires que le Roy envoie au Saguenay" (October 17, 1540), Biggar, *Documents*, 128–31; and Roberval's untitled commission (January 15, 1541) (Biggar, *Documents*, 178–85).

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an idea or a mental image comprising numerous elements of France's imperial plans in Canada at that moment.[6] At this stage of French expeditions to the New World, components contributing to the imperial gaze included commerce, exploration, encounters and exchanges with Amerindians, the propagation of Christianity, and the establishment of permanent colonial settlements. The imperial gaze draws on a variety of sources of information, such as oral reports, written narratives, political correspondence and discussions, cartography, and other visual materials. The abstract hegemonic concept of empire envisioned from a distance in the imperial gaze stimulates strategies for the planning of actual colonization on the ground. France's mid-sixteenth-century imperial vision of Canada, which is highlighted by its quest for reaching the Kingdom of Saguenay, was most conspicuously portrayed in the innovative cartography of the Dieppe School of Hydrography, of which the map that François Ier displayed to Lagarto is a prime example.

The Dieppe School: Aesthetics and Ideology

Owing to Dieppe's connection with France's commercial and colonial expeditions in the Americas, the Dieppe School of Hydrography emerged, not coincidentally, just after France's first two expeditions to Canada in the 1530s and developed in the two following decades, when the school's maps became the primary source of geographic knowledge for France during the reigns of François Ier and Henri II.[7] The Dieppe maps were the product of collabora-

6 I draw on Walter Mignolo's concept of the imperial gaze, which he elaborates in "Crossing Gazes and the Silence of the 'Indians': Theodor de Bry and Guaman Poma de Ayala," in *Theodor De Bry's Voyages to the New and Old Worlds*, ed. Maureen Quilligan, special issue of *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41, 1 (2011), 173–223. Mignolo defines the imperial gaze as the Western European imperial imagination derived from "the colonial matrix of power, a complex structure of control and management, that emerged in the sixteenth century and in the Atlantic transactions, and that encompasses economy, authority, gender and sexuality, knowledge and subjectivity," as well as "commercial and artistic motives" related to portraying, reproducing, and disseminating such ideas (175). My application of Mignolo's concept of the imperial gaze in this paper focuses on transforming ideologies related specifically to France's colonial aspirations in mid-sixteenth-century Canada during the reigns of François Ier and Henri II and later transformed by Samuel de Champlain during the first few decades of the seventeenth century, under Henri IV and Louis XIII.

7 Sarah Toulouse states that Norman commercial syndicates—especially in Dieppe—frequently sent trade expeditions to the Americas. Powerful businessmen in Normandy also partially financed colonial voyages led by Giovanni da Verrazano, Cartier, and Roberval to the

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tions among French and Portuguese mariners, pilots, geographers, cartographers, and artists working in Normandy. They gleaned geographical data from a range of Spanish, Portuguese, and French travel narratives and maps and added information collected during their own voyages (Toulouse, "Marine Cartography," 1555). As Lagarto's observations indicate, the Dieppe charts were less scientifically accurate than scenic; they were not practical nautical charts meant to be used at sea but rather colorful and richly decorated works of art with elaborately painted scenes whose aesthetic was inspired by medieval International Gothic painting popular in northern France, mannerist painting in vogue at the court of François 1er, and late-medieval and early sixteenth-century public theater.[8]

These nautical charts were created primarily for an elite audience of those associated with France's expeditions to the New World. They were displayed at court and in the homes of nobles, patrons, and wealthy merchants, and they reached a secondary audience of ambassadors, foreign dignitaries, and others interested in contemporary overseas explorations and imperialism. Gayle Brunelle emphasizes the ideological aims of the Dieppe School, stating that "the cartographers associated with it were acting as propagandists for French geographic knowledge and territorial claims in the New World," and the creation of their maps was greatly influenced by the French monarchs, who "displayed a keen interest in cartography as a means of emphasizing their claims to overseas imperial power" (237). In a series of world charts and atlases created between 1543 and 1556, the Dieppe cartographers, understanding the

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Atlantic coast of North America, as well as Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon's mission to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Some of the best-known Dieppe cartographers also participated in commercial and colonial expeditions to these same regions. See Sarah Toulouse, "Marine Cartography and Navigation in Renaissance France," in *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the European Renaissance* (vol. 3, part 2, chap. 52), ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1150. See also Toulouse, "Les Hydrographes normands, XVIe et XVIIe siècles," in *L'Age d'or des cartes marines: Quand l'Europe découvrait le monde*, eds. Catherine Hofmann, Hélène Richard, and Emmanuelle Vagnon (Paris: Seuil, 2012), 136–38. For a recent and very informative book-length study of the Dieppe School, which focuses primarily on the esthetic qualities of the charts, see Martine Sauret, *Voyages dans l'école cartographique de Dieppe au XVIe siècle: Espaces, altérités et influences* (New York: Peter Lang, 2014).

8 Gayelle Brunelle, "Dieppe School," in *The Oxford Companion to World Exploration*, ed. David Buisseret (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1:238. For a discussion of the influence of the mannerist painting of the School of Fontainebleau on ethnographic portraits of scenes of French colonization in North America in the mid-sixteenth century, see Miles Harvey, *Painter in a Savage Land: The Strange Saga of the First European Artist in North America* (New York: Random House, 2008), 45–46.

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power of maps to influence a variety of viewers of the maps who constituted a knowledge network of monarchs, nobles, *armateurs*, pilots, merchants, cartographers, and others sharing geographical information contributing to France's vision of an overseas empire, undertook innovative visual rhetorical strategies to depict the French colonial accomplishments in North America. These charts reflect what Frank Lestringant identifies as the tendency for influential sixteenth-century French cartographers to create a "fiction cosmographique" ("cosmographical fiction") largely motivated by "calculs politiques" ("political strategies").[9] Lestringant argues that such political strategies in mapmaking began in the middle of the sixteenth century, and his study focuses on cartography portraying French colonial expeditions in Brazil created by Guillaume Le Testu (*Cosmographie universelle*, 1556), Jacques Vaudeclaye (charts of northeastern Brazil, 1579), and especially André Thevet (*Le Grand Insulaire et pilotage d'André Thevet, cosmographe du Roy, 1586–1588*). I maintain that such rhetorical strategies of French mapping began in the previous two decades and that they find their strongest articulation in the charts of the Dieppe School portraying French colonial attempts in Canada.

Neither Cartier's nor Roberval's expeditions in the early 1540s succeeded in establishing a permanent colony in Canada, owing to the extreme cold that they encountered, famine, disease, inconstant and sometimes hostile interactions with Amerindians, and their futile quest for Saguenay. While the Dieppe mapmakers draw on crucial stages of France's colonial expeditions as reported by Cartier and Roberval, they add fictional elements that manipulate the portrayal of the nation's colonial accomplishments. The elaborate scenes, which illustrate the colonists' activities from different viewpoints and on different scales, constitute a *mise en scène* of possession of Canada. The Dieppe mapmakers carefully stage the elements of their performative tableaux, which include the location of the colonial settlement (especially its proximity to Saguenay and the Saguenay River), the placement of the French colonists, their clothing and weaponry, the activities in which they participate, their interactions with Amerindians, the flora and fauna of the Canadian landscape, and strategically placed imperial iconography. The *mises en scène* of the French experiences along the coast of the St. Lawrence River, which develop various dimensions of colonial aims and claims to territory after the final French expeditions, are at the foundation of the transforming mid-sixteenth-century French imperial gaze on Canada.

9 Frank Lestringant, "La 'France antarctique' et la cartographie prémonitoire d'André Thevet (1516–1592)," *Mappemonde* 88, 4 (1988), 3 and 2.

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Harleian Map (ca. 1543–44): An Idyllic Imperial Gaze on Canada

Around 1543–44, an anonymous cartographer of the Dieppe school created an enormous world chart, known today as the *Harleian Map*, which presents highly innovative *mise en scène*, oriented toward the south, like most Dieppe maps, that projects a visionary colonial society in the process of being settled by the French (Figure 18.1).

In place of the French fortresses and powerful military contingent that protected the French from the Amerindians, wooden French homes have been constructed in the open countryside. The mapmaker's *mise en scène* amplifies the idyllic state of colonial implantation by including a figure of a Frenchman who tills the soil with a plow pulled by horses, which recalls observations on the land's suitability for future cultivation that Cartier made during his first

FIGURE 18.1 *Anonymous.* Harleian Map (*1543–44*). *Detail of world chart, manuscript on parchment, 6 sheets, assembled: 118 × 246 cm. London: British Library, Add. MS. 5413, ca. 1543–44. Licensed under CCo 1.0 Universal. http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/quebec/q1dauphinmapzoom.html.*

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expedition.[10] Even more impressive is the figure of Roberval, standing on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence and facing the mouth of the Saguenay River. The French leader hands what appears to be a land deed to a French settler, while other colonists witness this act and perhaps wait for their own land contracts. The official property issues having been settled, the land is now "shovel ready," and the colonial process is portrayed as being well underway. The Stadaconans, who at various times supported the French and served as an obstacle to their exploration and colonization, are placed in the distance. The imaginary chief of Saguenay, seated on his throne and holding a scepter, an emblem of his regal power, oversees his kingdom situated at the source of the Saguenay River.

This region of the world chart would have made an appeal to any number of parties to support the French imperializing process in Canada. The cartographer dedicated the chart to François 1er and the Dauphin Henri d'Orléans, whose immense coat of arms is strategically placed just west of Canada, thereby encouraging him, before he began his reign, to envision future expeditions to Canada. Because of the presence of figures investing in the land, additional viewers, such as financial supporters of the expedition and potential colonists, would have believed that the land was capable of being explored, surveyed, and parceled out to future settlers seeking a new life in an idyllic new world. The chart also would have inspired commercial syndicates from Dieppe to support continued investment in trade both off the coast of Newfoundland, where the French held a monopoly on cod fishing, and in the interior of the region, where the French were already envisioning the fur trade as a potentially lucrative element of the nation's imperial plans.[11]

While the French established three short-lived settlements and invested in agriculture and animal husbandry during the course of their expeditions, the advanced state of colonial implantation as portrayed on the chart never existed as such. Moreover, by the time that *Harleian Map* was completed, Cartier

10 Cartier, *Les Trois Voyages*, 128 [Cartier, *The Voyages*, 14].

11 Cartier comments repeatedly on the Amerindians' desire to trade furs with the French during the first two expeditions to Canada. See, for example, Cartier, *Les Trois Voyages*, 122, 139, 140, and 142 [Cartier, *The Voyages*, 10, 20, 21, and 22]. On the initial French interests in the fur trade in the first half of the sixteenth century, which led to a great expansion of the industry in the seventeenth century, see Harold Adams Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 9–16. See also the classic study on the topic, Henry Percival Biggar and George McKinnon Wrong, *The Early Trading Companies of New France: A Contribution to the History of Commerce and Discovery in North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1901).

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and Roberval had already returned to France after their final unsuccessful expeditions. This highly propagandistic map therefore presents a misleading sense of permanence of the French settlement in North America, reflecting what Lestringant states of other sixteenth-century charts that portray French colonization, which "fix[ent] dans la pérennité de la carte une possession coloniale éphémère et, dans les faits, déjà perdue" ("La 'France antarctique,'" 5) ["establish in the permanence of the map an ephemeral colonial possession that was, in reality, already lost"]. At the same time, the chart reflects a visual strategy that presents aspirations of a future French colony in Canada.

The *mise en scène* of the *Harleian Map*, as that of the other contemporary Dieppe maps, was largely influenced by contemporary political events, as it was created during a period when French overseas imperial interests coincided with conflict over territorial possessions in Europe. Both the Truce of Nice (June 18, 1538) and The Treaty of Crépy (September 18, 1544), which brought about a temporary end to two successive Italian Wars between France and the Spanish Habsburgs, imposed restrictions on France's colonial aspirations in the New World. In an effort to seek peace in Europe, in 1545 François I^{er} forbade his subjects from traveling to lands under Spanish dominion in the Americas, and France was forced to refrain from planning another expedition to Canada for the time being.[12] As a result, from that moment on, the Dieppe charts took over as the dominant means of representing and inspiring the French imperial gaze on Canada. In this connection, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto comments on the power of maps to perpetuate a belief in mythical lands, such as Saguenay:

> Almost none of the great delusive myths is likely to have originated on maps, but maps encouraged belief in them. Sometimes the reasoning that inspired speculative cartography was prompted or supplemented by classical authorities or legendary exploits, but mostly it was the result of theoretical or political agendas allied to wishful thinking.[13]

The Dieppe cartographers thus resorted to reshaping the French imperial gaze on Canada through cartographic revisions of earlier colonial attempts along the coast of the St. Lawrence River.

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12 Brian Slattery, "French Claims in North America, 1500–59," *Canadian Historical Review* 59 (1978), 162–66. See also Charles Oscar Paullin and Frances Gardiner Davenport, eds., *European Treatises Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1917), 205–207.

13 Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, "Maps and Exploration in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 741.

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Desceliers's World Chart (1546): A Theological-Military Vision of Colonization

In 1546, Pierre Desceliers, the leading cosmographer of the Dieppe School, directed the creation of an immense world chart that he dedicated to François 1er and the Dauphin. The map's *mise en scène*, once again the essential feature of the North American region of the chart, provides an element of France's colonial efforts that is entirely missing from the *Harleian Map*. A figure identified as "Monsr. de Roberval," who stands on the banks of the "R. du Saguenay" and wears a military uniform, dictates orders to a large group of heavily armed French soldiers, one of whom carries a flag with a white cross, representing the supposed Christianizing mission of the expedition to Canada, which was stated explicitly in the commissions for Cartier's and Roberval's expeditions[14] (Figure 18.2).

Desceliers places the French army not near the minuscule, crudely designed French fort at Roberval's settlement indicated as "Franciroy," but rather just south of "Le Saguenay," by far the largest terrestrial toponym on the map. He adds a much more provocative element to the *mise en scène*: next to the French crusader army, he portrays a group of Amerindians worshipping an

FIGURE 18.2 *Pierre Desceliers. Detail of world chart (1546; reprod. 1862). Manuscript on parchment, 4 sheets, assembled: 128 × 254 cm. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1862. MAP RM 567.*

14 See Biggar, *Documents*, 128–31 and 178–85, respectively.

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anthropomorphized figure of the Christian God. These figures, representing imaginary inhabitants of Saguenay, are portrayed on a larger scale than the scene of the French army, making them much more visually prominent than the French. The juxtaposition of theological-military army and religious worship, two essential elements of colonial efforts contributing to the imperial gaze, establishes an imaginary rapport between the peoples.

In the narrative reporting his second expedition, Cartier explicitly states that the Amerindians did not worship any deity in this manner, let alone the Christian God (Cartier, *Les Trois Voyages*, 211 [Cartier, *The Voyages*, 68]), but they did imitate French devotional practices that they had witnessed, an instinctive theatrical response that might facilitate their eventual conversion to Catholicism (Cartier, *Les Trois Voyages*, 202–203 [Cartier, *The Voyages*, 64]. Yet despite Cartier's statements that the Amerindians would be easy to convert to Christianity, his observations on the Amerindians' interest in being baptized, and the presence of priests who allegedly participated in the final two expeditions, neither he nor Roberval expressed an interest in catechizing or converting any of the indigenous inhabitants of Canada (Cartier, *Les Trois Voyages*, 142 and 212 [Cartier, *The Voyages*, 22 and 68]. In any case, the *mise en scène* on Desceliers's map disseminates the illusion that the Amerindians are not to be feared and would be easy to convert and, consequently, that they would cooperate with the colonizers and easily assimilate to French ways. This strategy also has political aims: believing that *propaganda fide*—the spread of the Christian faith—would provide the sole justifiable basis for a return mission to Canada, Desceliers wanted Catholic leaders of the Iberian nations to believe that future French expeditions would be primarily theological in nature. He also aspired to gain privileges from Pope Paul III for future French expeditions analogous to the territorial incentives that Pope Alexander VI had provided to the Portuguese and Spanish monarchs in the Bulls of Donation (May-September, 1493) and the Treaty of Tordesillas (July 7, 1494), legislation created shortly after Christopher Columbus reported on his first voyage to the West Indies.[15]

15 R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 380, and Charles-André Julien, *Les Voyages de découvertes et les premiers établissements XV^e–XVI^e siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), 137–38 and 147.

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Vallard Atlas (1547): A Nostalgic Review of the Colonial Experience

In 1547, during the final year of François Ier's reign, an anonymous cartographer of the Dieppe School created what is known today as the *Vallard Atlas*, named after its owner, a wealthy and powerful merchant from Dieppe. A regional chart of Canada along the St. Lawrence River demonstrates the manner in which the Dieppe mapmakers continued to transform France's imperial gaze after it was increasingly evident that its colonial aspirations in Canada were fading. As opposed to the visionary French settlement portrayed on the *Harleian Map*, and an imaginary French theological-military expedition on Desceliers's chart of 1546, this regional chart, which is more scenic than strictly cartographic, includes a *mise en scène* presenting a nostalgic view of the French colonial voyages (Figure 18.3).

In the foreground, elegantly dressed male and female French colonists, freshly disembarked from their voyage, stand in the bucolic setting of Canada. A figure of Cartier addresses the colonists—men brandishing battle axes and harquebuses, and women holding rosary beads—who gather around him. Another Frenchman stands apart from the other colonists, pointing to a group of Amerindians holding spears, one of them gesturing towards the French to approach them. Despite the inequality of weaponry, this is not a scene of imminent battle or conflict, but rather a retrospective scene portraying a peaceful

FIGURE 18.3 *Anonymous.* Vallard Atlas (*1547*). *Detail of regional chart of Canada. Manuscript on parchment, 39 × 28.5 cm. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library. MS. HM 29, 1547. Fol. 9.*
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encounter with the Stadaconans when the French returned to Canada in 1541, a voyage whose principal aim was to reach Saguenay and establish an enduring colony nearby.

In the background is a palisade enclosure with cannons, similar to Cartier's description of the hastily constructed fortification in Ste. Croix during his second expedition, which played a central role in protecting the French from the Stadaconans as animosity steadily grew between them (Cartier, *Les Trois Voyages*, 208 [Cartier, *The Voyages*, 67]). But the French fort is not placed near the St. Lawrence coast; rather, it is placed much further inland, on a tributary river that flows out of the fortress and into the river named "Le Saguenay." As such, the chart reflects what Lestringant states of André Thevet's cartography later in the century, which "revendique une emprise symbolique sur des territoires qui échappent depuis longtemps à la jurisdiction du souverain" ("La 'France antarctique,'" 5) ["stakes a symbolic claim to territories that had slipped away from the sovereign's jurisdiction long before"]. The nostalgic view of the *mise en scène* remains on the threshold of what France envisioned as the beginning of a successful future colony with immediate access to the Kingdom of Saguenay at a time that the François Ier and his son were losing a concrete vision of a future colony in Canada.

Desceliers's World Chart (1550): A Vision of Colonial Failure

In 1550, Desceliers presented another immense world chart to the new monarch, Henri II, whose imperial gaze had been influenced by his father's developing interest in New World explorations and colony building. Henri II had had extensive training in cosmography during his childhood and drew on the uses of cartography to envision an expanding French empire.[16] As François Ier before him, he promoted the development of colonial cartography by providing financial support to the Dieppe School.[17] Three large coats of arms honor important political figures who played an important role in planning French military activities in Europe and colonial expeditions in the New World. That of Henri II, whose crowned initials also adorn the left and right borders, and those of the two most important military officers in Henri II's imperial

16 Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, King of France 1547–1559* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 7.

17 Frederic J. Baumgartner, "Adam's Will: Act II, Henry II and French Overseas Expeditions," *Proceedings of the French Colonial Historical Society* 11 (1985), 141.

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administration—Constable Anne de Montmorency, Henri II's closest ally, and Claude d'Annebault, Marshal and Admiral of France—frame the world's spaces.

The imagery and aesthetic of this map are strikingly different from those of Desceliers's chart of 1546. The more recent chart is sort of a Renaissance version of a medieval *mappa mundi*, as it is more illuminated than painted and presents geographical knowledge that draws on ancient legends, medieval myths, and recent history[18] (Figure 18.4).

Although earlier Dieppe maps portrayed occasional fantastic elements in Canada, in this chart unicorns and other mythical creatures appear in the countryside, as does a scene of a battle between cranes and pygmies, which has its source in Homer's *Iliad*. The French fortress, which is once again situated adjacent to a tributary to the "R. du Sagnay" and near "Sagne," is a large, fanciful, stone castellated structure.

As opposed to the friendly encounters among the French and Amerindians in Canada in the *Vallard Atlas* and the fictional portrait of Stadaconans who

FIGURE 18.4 *Pierre Desceliers. Detail of world chart (1550). Manuscript on parchment, 4 sheets, assembled: 139 × 219 cm. London: British Library.*
© THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ADD. MS. 24065.1550.

18 Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda, and Art* (London: British Library, 2010), 84–85.

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worship a Christian God in Desceliers's 1546 map, in this chart, the Amerindians flee from a figure of Roberval—the sole French actor in the map's *mise en scène*, who stands near the French settlement. As stated in both Cartier's and Roberval's narratives of the third and fourth expeditions, the French became an imposing and threatening presence among the Amerindians as much as the latter contributed to the demise of the French expedition. Desceliers refers to this situation in one of the twenty-five text panels strategically placed in the map, which states that conflicts between the French and Amerindians were at the source of the failure of trade negotiations between the two peoples and the loss of the French colony in Canada:

> C'est la demonstracion daulcuns pays descouvertz … pour et aux despens du tres xtien Roy de France, Francoys pmier de ce nom. L'ung nôme Canada, Ochelaga et Sagné … A ces pays a este envoye (par ledit Roy) … mons.r de Roberval avec grande compaigye de gent … por habiter le pays … Et pource que ilz na este possible (avec les gentz dudict pays) de faire trafique a raison de leur austerite et intemperance … et petit proffit sont retournes en France, esperant y retourner quand il plaira au Roy.
>
> [This is the presentation of lands discovered … by and at the expense of the very Christian King of France, Francis the First. Canada, Ochelaga and Saguenay are named … To this country was sent (by the said king) … Sieur de Roberval with a large contingent of people … to inhabit the land … And because it was not possible to trade (with the indigenous people) because of their austerity and intemperance … and the small profit to be gained, [they] returned to France, hoping to return there whenever it might please the King.]

Neither visionary nor nostalgic, the *mise en scène* of the imperial gaze on Canada openly admits France's colonial failure in Canada and implicitly reveals that Henri II had no immediate imperial plans for a future colonization near the mythical land of Saguenay.

Le Testu's *Cosmographie universelle* (1556): A Revision of France's Imperial Gaze

The same year that Desceliers created his world chart of 1550, Henri II commissioned Dieppe cartographer Guillaume Le Testu, a Protestant pilot from Le Havre, to create a world atlas focusing on a new stage of the French colonial

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interests in the New World.[19] On April 5, 1556, thirteen years after France's final colonial expeditions to Canada, Le Testu completed *Cosmographie universelle*, which includes several regional charts of North America, all oriented towards the north, one of which reflects a marked change in France's imperial gaze on Canada. This chart portrays four fortified settlements, progressing in complexity from south to north, next to which a large French flag is planted into the ground (Figure 18.5).

While the three lower forts represent the vestiges of those reported by Cartier and Roberval, the building situated furthest north is a significant

FIGURE 18.5 *Guillaume Le Testu.* Cosmographie universelle selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes, par Guillaume Le Testu, pillote en la mer du Ponent de la ville françoyse de Grace, Le Havre, 1555. *Detail of regional chart of Canada. Manuscript on paper, 53.5 × 38 cm. Vincennes: Bibliothèque du Service Historique de la Défense, Bibl. MS. 607, 1556. Fol. 56v. Public domain. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447838j/f120.item.*

19 For a thorough study of Le Testu's atlas, see Frank Lestringant, "Peindre le monde: Guillaume Le Testu, navigateur et cartographe de la Renaissance," introduction to Guillaume Le Testu, *Cosmographie universelle selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes, pillote en la mer du Ponent de la ville françoyse de Grace*, ed. Frank Lestringant (Paris: Flammarion, 2012), 7–95.

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innovation on the maps of the Dieppe School. Le Testu is the first to represent the Kingdom of Saguenay not with a toponym, but with a glorious castle with embellished walls and tall, round towers, literally out of which the "Riviere de Saguene" flows towards the St. Lawrence River. In his atlas, Le Testu places numerous castles representative of the distinctive architecture of the French Renaissance primarily in Western Europe, where they designate important cities on the continent. But the glorious château representing Saguenay, which is the only castle portrayed on any of the regional charts of the Americas, is different from those in Europe: its form is unique, and it is by far the largest, and most ornate, castle figuring on any of Le Testu's charts.

In a text on the page facing this chart of Canada, Le Testu states an aspect of the France's vision of a colony in Canada only implied in the other Dieppe maps of the period. Although the French never saw the non-existent Kingdom of Saguenay, Le Testu emphasizes the continuing source of the imperial gaze, as did Lagarto in his report of François 1er's vision of a colony in Canada, as being cartographic. Referring to his chart, Le Testu uses the verb "voir" ["to see"], which travel writers conventionally stated in order to emphasize the veracity of their claims and grant authority to their observations: "Ceste est La Terre neufve … ou Lon poura *voir* Le canada, & Saguene: Ochelasa: & plusieurs aultres lieux…." ["This is Newfoundland … where one can *see* Canada and Saguenay: Ochelaga and several other places"].[20] In the description of the following chart of the region, he adds that "Robert Val & Jacques Cartier y ayent este, par le Commandement du Roy francoys Premyer de ce nom: Lesquels ont decouvert Le Canada, & Saguene, comme vous aves pu *voir* a la pagee precedente" (58r, emphasis added) ["Roberval and Jacques Cartier having been there, by the order of the King of France, Francis the First: they discovered Canada and Saguenay, as you were able to *see* on the preceding page"].

What the viewer of the map does not see, however, are the figures of the French colonists interacting with Amerindians in Canada that had heretofore been the most distinctive element of the *mise en scène* of possession projected by the charts of the Dieppe School. Le Testu's omission of the French colonists in Canada is all the more significant when we consider that he portrays human figures on fifteen of the regional maps of the Americas, all in regions claimed by the Spanish and Portuguese. Most important are the two regional charts that portray figures of Spaniards engaging in events and activities related to their imperial conquests in Peru and Mexico and interacting with the indigenous

20 Guillaume Le Testu. *Cosmographie universelle selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes, par Guillaume Le Testu, pillotte en la mer du Ponent, de la ville francoyse de Grace*. Le Havre, 1556, 57r. Emphasis added.

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peoples of these regions in an aggressive, even violent, manner.[21] With the withdrawal of French aspirations for a colonial settlement in Canada, the performative strategy of portraying French territorial possession in lands adjacent to Saguenay came to an end. The immense French flag, the long-abandoned French settlements, and the imaginary château of the Kingdom of Saguenay that remain in Canada now symbolize a *mise en scène* of dispossession.

By the early 1550s, when Le Testu started creating *Cosmographie universelle*, Henri II had begun to redirect his gaze away from Canada and towards a more lucrative land. 1550 was indeed the year of Henri II's *joyeuse entrée* into Rouen, which featured another spectacular *mise en scène*, this time of indigenous Brazilians and French traders performing on the banks of the Seine in Rouen to celebrate the city's central role in the trade in Brazilwood and other commodities and to stimulate an interest—and investment—in France's next colonial quest. As early as 1552 the French began planning an ambitious expedition to Brazil, the colonial efforts of which were promoted and supported by Gaspard de Coligny, Protestant leader and Admiral of France to whom Le Testu dedicated *Cosmographie universelle* and whose coat of arms appears numerous times throughout the atlas. Vice-Admiral of France Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, accompanied by André Thevet, led the expedition that set out for Rio de Janeiro in May 1555 and established a short-lived colony on a small island in Guanabara Bay.

In *Cosmographie universelle*, as a representation of France's new colonial aspirations, Le Testu portrays a daring revision of France's imperial gaze on the New World by placing an immense French flag not on the Île Coligny but rather on the South American continent, between Spanish and Portuguese flags planted in the "Terre du Bresil"—precisely where the line of Tordesillas had been calculated to divide South America between the Iberian nations (44v) (Figure 18.6).

While the land is populated with numerous indigenous inhabitants of Brazil, the absence of European figures suggests that this region of South America was essentially up for grabs, which contests Spain's and Portugal's exclusive claims to the region and draws attention to an area where the French were beginning to stake their own territorial claims. Although Le Testu once again revives one of the tactics of French colonial cartography in this prospective imperial gaze

21 The chart of "La Region du Peru" includes figures of the Spanish troops slaughtering Incas during their conquest of Peru; that of "la neufve Espaigne" shows scenes of the Aztecs in "Mechique" mining gold and Spanish smiths working the precious metal. See 50v and 53v, respectively.

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FIGURE 18.6 *Guillaume Le Testu.* Cosmographie universelle selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes, par Guillaume Le Testu, pillote en la mer du Ponent de la ville françoyse de Grace, Le Havre, 1555. *Detail of regional chart of Brazil. Manuscript on paper, 53.5 × 38 cm. Vincennes: Bibliothèque du Service Historique de la Défense, Bibl. MS. 607, 1556. Fol. 44v. Public domain. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447838j/f96.item.*

on the New World,[22] France's colonial efforts in Brazil would fail in 1560, when the French fell to the Portuguese, who regained their territory and expelled the French permanently from the eastern coast of South America.

The waning of the Dieppe School in the mid-1560s coincided with the outbreak of the Wars of Religion in 1562, which contributed to the failure of three French colonial expeditions attempted in Florida, which were captained by Jean Ribaut and René de Laudonnière between 1562 and 1565. The Wars of Religion led to a period during which France turned its gaze more inwardly as unsuccessful efforts to ease civil unrest replaced external imperial

22 Lestringant discusses Le Testu's impulse of projecting forward to France's potential possession of Brazil in the nautical chart of this region in which, he states, "la fiction est prospective" ["the fiction is prospective"] ("La 'France antarctique,'" 3).

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ambitions in the Americas—and delayed significant developments in French cartography—for nearly the rest of the century. The Dieppe cartographers' intense focus on French colonial efforts in Canada nonetheless influenced future French mapmakers, who portrayed Saguenay and the Saguenay River on their maps consistently throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century, although none includes a *mise en scène* of colonists' claims to territory in Canada. Cartographic knowledge presented on the Dieppe maps also influenced mapmakers of other nations, as the toponym Saguenay is found on countless maps by Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Flemish, Dutch, and English cartographers during the same period.

Samuel de Champlain's Cartographic Vision of *La Nouvelle France* in the Seventeenth Century

When the Edict of Nantes (1598) brought about an end to the Wars of Religion, and the Peace of Vervins (1598) led to peace between France and Spain, France reprised its quest for imperial expansion in North America. Henri IV made overseas colonization a high priority and began sponsoring expeditions to Canada, many of which were led by Samuel de Champlain.[23] Beginning with his earliest voyages to North America, Champlain played an integral role in contributing to France's early-seventeenth-century imperial gaze on Canada. Champlain had served in the army of the king and advised the king on military affairs, and in 1602 Henri IV provided a pension to Champlain that sponsored his first exploration along the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean and the St. Lawrence River, during which he was ordered to create sea charts for safe navigation and to scout out the land.[24] The king also requested that Champlain investigate the development of the fur trade, an industry that would prove to be highly lucrative for the French. Upon returning to France after his first expedition to Canada in 1603, Champlain met with Henri IV and showed him "la carte dudit

23 For extensive studies of Champlain's role in the foundation of New France, see David Hackett Fisher, *Champlain's Dream: The European Founding of North America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), and Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vageois, eds., *Champlain. La Naissance de l'Amérique française* (Montréal: Les éditions du Septentrion and McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

24 Conrad E. Heidenreich and K. Janet Ritch, "Champlain and His Times to 1604: An Interpretive Essay," in *Samuel de Champlain before 1604:* Des sauvages *and Other Documents Related to the Period*, ed. and trans. Conrad E. Heidenreich and K. Janet Ritch (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 2010), 14 and 56.

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pays, avec le discours fort particulier que luys en fis" ["the map of the said land, with the verbal account reporting specifically what I found"].[25] As Cartier had undertaken with François Ier some six decades earlier, Champlain provided information to Henri IV that would secure additional funding for return expeditions to that region, stimulate France's financial investment in Canada and, in particular, promote French colonial settlement.

Champlain's first published written work, *Des sauvages* (1604), which relates his expedition along the St. Lawrence River, demonstrates that the Kingdom of Saguenay and its legendary riches, which had eluded the French since Cartier's and Roberval's voyages some sixty years earlier, lost their status as the primary force motivating France's imperial interests in Canada. Champlain mentions the "Riviere du Saguenay" only once, and solely in its proximity to Tadoussac, which the French established in 1600 as the oldest and most important French trading post in Canada.[26] This settlement, located on the Saint Lawrence River at the mouth of the Saguenay River, was managed by the fur trader François Gravé du Pont and Pierre de Chauvin de Tonnetuit, captain of the French Royal Navy, to whom Henri IV granted the first French fur trade monopoly in Canada; Tadoussac remained the central trading post for the French throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.[27]

Between 1604 and 1607, Champlain was employed by Pierre du Gua de Mons, Henri IV's lieutenant in Arcadia, as a surveyor and geographer, and he surveyed the Atlantic coast, recorded latitude and magnetic declination, and mapped the entire coastline (Heidenreich and Ritch, Preface, xvi). One year later, Du Gua chose Champlain as lieutenant for the expedition that would found a settlement at Québec. In the following years, Champlain, drawing on geographical knowledge provided by Cartier and Roberval and additional information found on maps, penetrated further into the interior of Canada along the St. Lawrence coast. There, he collaborated with indigenous Canadians to broaden his geographical understanding of the region and conduct resource

25 Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le Sr. de Champlain* … Paris: Louis Sevestre, 1632, pt. 1, 41.

26 Samuel de Champlain, *Des sauvages, or, Voyage of Samuel Champlain*, [1603], 1604 / *Des sauvages, ou, voyage de Samuel Champlain*, [1603], 1604, in *Samuel de Champlain before 1604:* Des sauvages *and Other Documents Related to the Period*, ed. and trans. Conrad E. Heidenreich and Ritch (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 2010), 286.

27 For details on the founding of Tadoussac and Champlain's interactions with administrators of the trading post, see Conrad E. Heidenreich and K. Janet Ritch, "Preface," in *Samuel de Champlain before 1604*, xv. For a discussion of the role that Tadoussac played in the fur trade in Canada, see Innis, *Fur Trade*, 29–43.

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surveys that would determine which areas would be adequate for additional settlement (Heidenreich and Ritch, 57).

Champlain quickly developed into a prolific cartographer of France's colonial ambitions in North America. Since he created his maps at a time when gathering and calculating geographical information had greatly improved, as had engraving and printing processes, he produced the most accurate and detailed maps of the St. Lawrence coast of Canada until that time—much more so than the maps of the Dieppe cartographers.[28] Champlain's maps demonstrate France's accomplishments in exploration, provide proof of French territorial claims, present information that would be useful for colonial expansion, and reveal France's imperial aims and strategies. On his printed map of Canada *Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France faitte par le Sieur de Champlain Saint Tongois Cappitaine Ordinaire pour le Roy en la Marine* of 1612, Champlain includes both "Saguenay" and "Saguenay R.," but the most important innovations include information that reflects increasing geographic knowledge of Canada, ethnological details of Canadians, and additional elements related to France's ability to establish permanent colonial settlements there. Although Champlain's mapmaking was emerging from a different cartographic tradition than the charts of the Dieppe School, he nonetheless drew on their *mise en scène* esthetic by portraying human figures on some of his maps and in separate illustrations created throughout his career. Rather than placing the Amerindians in the geographical spaces of Canada, however, Champlain provides an illustration of "Figures des montaignais et figure [sic] des sauvages Almouchicois" in a cartouche placed in the foreground in the lower left portion of the map. The four figures, who constitute the map's most prominent feature, are posed before the viewer in a carefully constructed *mise en scène*: they wear native dress and proudly display elements central to their society, such as weaponry, a canoe and paddle, a breast-feeding baby, and foodstuffs (Figure 18.7).

In the reports of his expeditions, Champlain chronicled these peoples' administration, social organization, and cultural practices in great detail, and under his lead, the French established friendly relations and alliances with them, which facilitated the development of French commerce that

28 For an extensive study of Champlain's numerous expeditions to both the Atlantic and St. Lawrence coasts of Canada and his approaches to mapping these vast regions, see Conrad E. Heidenreich, "The Mapping of Samuel de Champlain, 1603–1635," in Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, 1538–49, and Conrad E. Heidenreich and Edward H. Dahl, "Samuel de Champlain's Cartography, 1603–32," in Litalien and Vageois, *Champlain*, 312–32.

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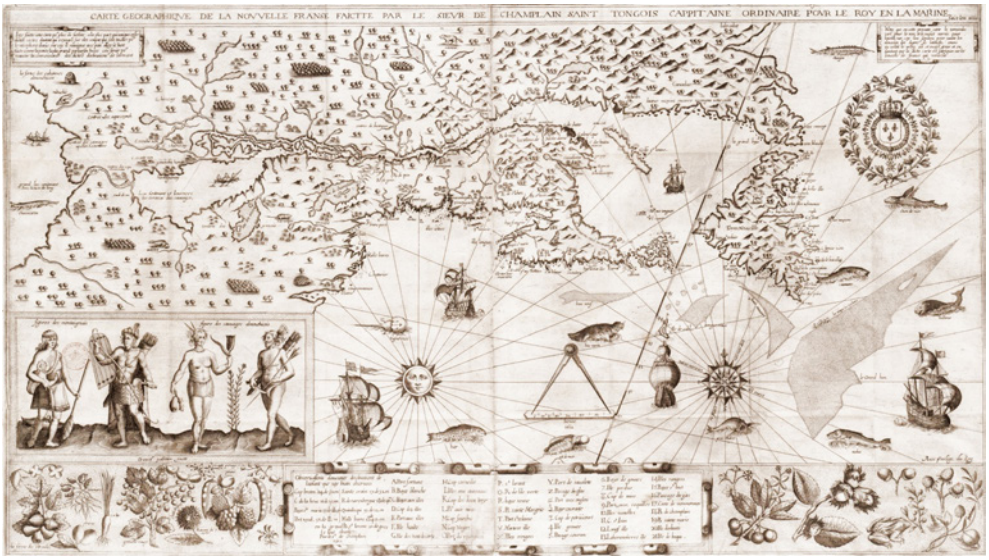
CARTE GEOGRAPHIQVE DE LA NOVVELLE FRANCE FAICTTE PAR LE SIEVR DE CHAMPLAIN SAINT TONGOIS CAPPITAINE ORDINAIRE POVR LE ROY EN LA MARINE

FIGURE 18.7 *Samuel de Champlain.* Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France faictte par le Sieur de Champlain Saint Tongois Cappitaine Ordinaire pour le Roy en la Marine (*1612*). *Printed engraving, 43.0 × 77.6 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1612. Public domain. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530987939.r=champlain?rk=128756;0.*

accompanied colonial implantation in Canada. Additional cartouches illustrate a variety of fruits and vegetables consumed by the indigenous Canadians, several of which are named. In this chart, Champlain also maps the interior of Canada with increasing precision, and the geographic portion of the map identifies Amerindian settlements reached by the French, which are located over an immensely expansive area of Canada, extending as far west as Lake Ontario. The French coat of arms hovers above the Atlantic Ocean, just east of Newfoundland, and emphasizes France's imperial project in this vast region of North America.

Within a few years after Champlain created this map, Louis XIII named him as lieutenant to the viceroy of New France, Henri II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, and he directed him to administer the burgeoning fur trade, oversee colonial settlements, and govern the expanding New France. Finally, in 1628, the king named Champlain lieutenant governor of New France under Cardinal Richelieu (Heidenreich, 1540, and Heidenreich and Ritch, eds., Preface, xvi). In *Carte de la Nouvelle France, augmentée depuis la dernière, servant à la navigation faict en son vray Meridien, par le Sr de Champlain* (1532), Champlain's final

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map of Canada printed during his lifetime, which reveals an increased focus on mapping terrestrial spaces rather than coastal lands, the toponym Saguenay is entirely absent, and the ethnonym "Montaignais" appears adjacent to the unnamed Saguenay River, replacing the mythical land that had motivated the French imperial gaze on Canada during the era of the Dieppe School.

Champlain also covers the map's surface with vignettes describing elements of the Canadian landscape, including practical information essential to successful French colonial expansion. He indicates important geographical details, such as extensive waterways and the waterfalls serving as obstacles to French progression along fluvial networks, and the location of sources of food and animals hunted as game. But the greatest development in this map is the prominence of elements related to the Amerindians residing in this vast region of New France. Champlain provides the names of the numerous indigenous peoples with whom the French engaged in strategic interactions, including the Etechemins, Montagnais, Algonquins, Hurons, and countless other "nations," along with drawings of their settlements, among which he includes symbols indicating the "habitations qu'ont faict les françois" ["settlements that the French have established"] in close proximity to those of the Amerindians.[29]

Some fifty years after the dominance of the cartography of the Dieppe School of Hydrography, Champlain thus established a new approach to mapping France's colonies and, by extension, to expressing France's imperial gaze in the first few decades of the seventeenth century. The elaborately painted maps of the earlier school were supplanted by a new stage of French imperial cartography, one based more on more systematic exploration and empirical evidence than imperial fantasy. Champlain's novel ethnocolonial approach to portraying imperialism in cartography, which joins ethnological interests with French colonial aims, played a central role in the successful development of France's imperial accomplishments, leading to a more enduring possession of territory, *La Nouvelle France*, and the means of spreading imperialist propaganda related to such possession to both a French and a broader European audience.

29 Champlain, *Carte de la Nouvelle France, augmentée depuis la dernière, servant à la navigation faict en son vray Meridien, par le Sr de Champlain*. 1632.

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CHAPTER 19

Guillaume Rondelet's Monkfish, or Natural History as Social Network

Pascale Barthe

In the early modern world, the making and the communicating of knowledge went hand in hand.[1] The creation and dissemination of *savoir* meant activating human networks that, geographically and professionally, had a wide span and involved men and women, powerful patrons and anonymous commoners, printers and physicians. Centered on the French humanist Guillaume Rondelet and on one particular example of his scholarly studies, the monkfish, this article examines sixteenth-century natural history as a collective practice. It focuses on the interconnected world in which Rondelet lived and on French Renaissance visual and textual discourses on the monkfish, and it seeks to answer the following questions: What did natural historians convey and transmit in the sixteenth century? How and to whom? Where and how did their thoughts originate? What and who were the vectors of nature and knowledge? Can and should we, today, detect the emergence of scientific discussions and findings behind the works of sixteenth-century scholars like Rondelet? Before turning to the object of inquiry itself and to its miscellaneous manifestations in print, a word is in order about the principal maker of knowledge under discussion.

Immortalized by François Rabelais as Rondibilis in chapters 31, 32, and 33 of the *Tiers Livre* (1546), Guillaume Rondelet (1507–66) is considered by many as the father of modern zoology. The doctor, who enjoyed collecting herbs around his native Montpellier and taught dissections in his backyard, influenced several generations of European scholars, among whom were the biologist Konrad Gesner from Zürich, who was his student; the English naturalist John Ray (1627–1705); and the Swedish botanist and physician Carl Linnaeus.[2]

1 James A. Secord, "Knowledge in Transit," *Isis* 95 (2004), 654–72.

2 Rondelet earned his title of *docteur* from the *faculté de médecine* of Montpellier in 1537. For this and other biographical information in this paragraph, see François Meunier and Jean-Loup d'Hondt's preface to their edition of Rondelet's *L'Histoire entière des poissons* (Paris: CTHS, 2002), 7–26. All references to the *Histoire* are to this edition. In quotations, I have modified original spelling and punctuation where appropriate in order to facilitate legibility.

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In addition to composing medical treatises, some of which were gathered and published posthumously in *Methodus curandorum omnium morborum corporis humani, in tres libros distincta* (1575), Rondelet authored major works on fish. In 1554, he published *Libri de piscibus marinis in quibus verae piscium effigies expressae sunt*, followed a year later by a second volume, entitled *Universae aquatilium historiae pars altera*. Both were compiled, translated into French, and published in two volumes in 1558 under the unambiguous and grand title *L'Histoire entière des poissons*.[3] In this *tour de force* Rondelet does not only offer a compiled history of ichthyology, but he considerably augments previous knowledge, documenting over 400 types of mollusks, fish, and sea mammals as well as frogs, turtles, and crocodiles. Citing ancient sources as well as adding his own and very real expertise, Rondelet is the first to describe the Bryozoa (15), a moss invertebrate, and offers the largest collection of sea animals in print to date. Especially noteworthy in the *Histoire* are the numerous and often, but not always biologically accurate woodcuts used to illustrate the aquatic animals. Among the most unusual marine animals described and illustrated by Rondelet, the "monstre marin en habit de Moine" ["marine monster in monk's habit"] is the subject of my analysis here.

It is easy but imprudent to conflate the sixteenth-century monkfish with either the *Lophius piscatorius* (*baudroie* or *lotte* in French)—an anglerfish with an enormous mouth, flattened head and body, and dark, winglike pectoral fins, prized for its delicate flesh—or one of the sharks belonging to the *Squatina* genus, for example the *Squatina squatina*, or angelshark.[4] Rondelet, who describes both the *baudroi* and the *ange*—the former in a chapter entitled "De la Galanga," after the name it bears in Montpellier—sees commonalities between these two fish.[5] In addition to their homophonic resemblance, the morphologies of the "Galanga" and the "Ange" coincide, to a certain degree at least: the shark "ha la bouche comme la Galanga" (I, 290) ["has a mouth like the Galanga"]. Furthermore, both are uninteresting, culinarily speaking.[6]

3 On the problems of the translator's identity, see Philippe Glardon's edition of Rondelet's contemporary and fellow ichthyologist Pierre Belon's *La Nature et diversité des poissons* in *L'Histoire naturelle au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2011), 287–90.

4 Both species were first categorized as such by Linnaeus in 1758.

5 Respectively, chapters XIX and XX of Book 12 (I, 288–89).

6 The *baudroi* "ha la chair molle de mauvais goust, de mauvaise senteur, é de mauvaise nourriture" (I, 289) ["has soft, bad-tasting and bad-smelling flesh, and is not fit for eating"], whereas the *ange* "sent mal, é est de mauvais goust" (I, 291) ["smells bad and tastes bad"]. Belon also includes a chapter on each fish, describing first the *angelot* and then the *diable de mer* or *baudroy* (418, 420). According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, monkfish is first used in English in 1666. Ray, who chooses not to include a visual representation of the monkfish

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Rondelet, on the contrary, views the "monstre marin en habit de Moine" as an entirely different type of fish, one that deserves a separate section of his *Histoire* (Book 16 of volume 1). He does not say whether his monkfish, as opposed to the *galanga* or the *ange*, might have elicited favorable gustatory reactions similar to the ones caused today by the *lotte*. However, it is obvious that it triggered his imagination and quest for knowledge.[7]

The monkfish has long been a universal object of the gaze and analysis. In early modern southern China, sea *bonzes* or sea Buddhist priests populate tales.[8] Pliny talks about a "marinum hominem," and the expression *piscis monachus* appears as early as 1210.[9] Late-fifteenth-century botanical works contain illustrations of the monkfish.[10] In addition to Rondelet, several other French scholar travelers of the sixteenth century mention the phenomenon. Pierre Belon (1517–64), a contemporary of Rondelet who spent extensive time in the Levant, and the surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510–90) include visual and textual commentaries on the monkfish in their respective publications. That we find echoes of the monkfish among French Renaissance authors is hardly surpising, given the well-connected world of humanist scholars. According to Brian Ogilvie, "by the 1550s, naturalists agreed that their discipline was fundamentally a collective enterprise."[11] In the early modern period, the practice of ichthyology, like that of botany, was anchored in both the local and the international communities of a *res publica literaria*. It involved travel, correspondence, and regular interaction with merchants, sailors, princes, scholars,

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in his 1686 *Historia piscium*, does refer to the animal. See Sachiko Kusukawa, "The *Historia piscium* (1686)," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 54, 2 (2000), 183.

7 What is interesting is that, in his description of the *baudroi*, Rondelet emphasizes the prominence of the head and tail, giving the fish a somewhat monstrous look: "Aussi ce poisson semble n'estre autre chose que teste é queüe, comme vous le voiés au pourtrait, lequel est vrai, non pas celui qu'autres ont fait peignans plus tost un monstre imaginé par fantasie que un poisson" (288) ["This fish seems to be nothing but head and tail, as you see in the portrait, which is true to life, not like that others have drawn, more fantastical monster than fish"].

8 W. M. S. Russell and F. S. Russell, "The Origin of the Sea Bishop," *Folklore* 86, 2 (1975), 94.

9 *Histoire naturelle de Pline*, trans. M. É. Littré (Paris: J. J. Dubochet, Le Chevalier et C^{ie}, 1851), 360.

10 For example, Conrad von Megenberg's *Buch der Natur* (1475) and the *Ortus sanitatis* (1491). See, respectively, Frank J. Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 76, figure 29; and Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 150, figure 4.3.1.

11 Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 51.

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ambassadors, and illustrators. In the case of the monkfish, a series of nonconcentric circles, all connected with and overlapping each other, is discernible: Rondelet's academic group of colleagues, students, and readers in and out of Montpellier, among whom we find Charles de l'Écluse, Jean Bauhin, and Félix Plater; the guild of printers and the publishers who were engaged in the material production of his works; the patrons; and the ancient students of the natural world—Aristotle, Theophrastus, Pliny, Oppian, Claudius Aelianus, and Galen—as well as the much more opaque web of anonymous helpers and contributors to knowledge.[12] This article focuses on three of these circles. I first examine the woodcuts of the monkfish and their corresponding texts. Next, I unearth Rondelet's princely connections through the gift he received from a patron. Finally, I discuss the nameless associates who were involved in Rondelet's production of knowledge.

Following George Huppert, who, in *The Style of Paris*, underlined the rational approach taken by sixteenth-century naturalists, scholars have emphasized Rondelet's scientific achievements, praising his efforts to use logic and reason in order to establish a first taxonomy.[13] Meunier and D'Hondt, for example, in their preface to the *Histoire*, regard Rondelet as a pioneer, swiftly excusing the presence of what we would consider today to be abnormalities in Rondelet's nomenclature.[14] What does it matter, such scholars ask, if the naturalist mismatched several kinds of fish or failed to see the incongruity in putting very different sea creatures into one single category? Rondelet's method was arbitrary; therefore, contradictions and shortcomings in his classification were to be expected. When his description and illustration did not quite match the carp, for example, historians of science viewed the inaccuracy as the beginnings of

12 On the group surrounding Rondelet, see J. Belin-Milleron, "Les Naturalistes et l'essor de l'humanisme expérimental (fin du XVI^{e} siècle, début du XVII^{e} siècle); de Rondelet au conseiller Peiresc," *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications* 5, 3 (1952), 222–27.

13 George Huppert, *The Style of Paris: Renaissance Origins of the French Enlightenment* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999). Huppert does not mention Rondelet, but he discusses Belon and Pierre de la Ramée at length. He refers to Belon as a scientist (8) and portrays him as independent, unmoved by religion, and fiercely critical of ancient sources. I thank George Hoffmann for this reference.

14 Rondelet is "le découvreur d'insectes qui nous sont devenus familiers, un pionnier en systématique, le premier carcinologue, […] un précurseur en écologie" (22) ["the discoverer of insects that have since become familiar, a pioneering systematizer, the first carcinologist, […] a protoecologist"].

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fish teratology.[15] In short, scholars have insisted on Rondelet's modernity while asking how this brilliant "scientific" mind could have put side by side whales, urchins, crabs, trout, and monstrous creatures, such as the monkfish.[16]

The presence of fabulous creatures, however, is ubiquitous in both visual and textual sources from the medieval and early modern periods. In manuscript copies and incunabla of Barthélémy l'Anglais's *Livre des propriétés des choses*, first translated into French in 1372, unicorns, mermaids, phoenix, and griffons are depicted among the animals of Creation. Similarly, centaurs inhabit Jean de Mandeville's late-fourteenth-century *Livre des merveilles du monde* and, in the midst of more benign and certainly more scientifically approved species, *cynocephali* and giant sea monsters populate medieval and early modern maps. As Jean Céard has shown, everything in the medieval and early modern world, including the monster, was part of God's creation.[17] Read metaphorically or allegorically, these marvelous beings demonstrate the capacity to account for and to accept the unknown. Another explanation is proposed by Paula Findlen, who suggests that the early modern world was characterized by "the spectacle of science" where nature showed off its playful side.[18] And in his analysis, George Hoffmann shows that far from being empiricists relying on modern protoscientific methods, sixteenth-century French naturalists used Aristotelians' modal logic.[19] For Rondelet and his cohort, then, reality looked like it was populated with mermaids; the natural world was, in addition to a stage, a possibility. Looking at early modern natural history as communication—as James Secord does—and as social network—as I do—is helpful in pursuing this line of thought.

15 E. W. Gudger, "Beginnings of Fish Teratology, 1555–1642," *The Scientific Monthly* 43, 3 (1936), 255.

16 Most recently, Louisa Mackenzie has given a Latourian reading of the sixteenth-century monkfish, emphasizing what she perceives as a tension between purification and hybridization, itself a proof of Rondelet's and Belon's modernity. See Louisa Mackenzie, "French Early Modern Sea-Monsters and Modern Identities, via Bruno Latour," in *Animals and Early Modern Identity*, ed. Pia F. Cuneo (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 329–50, especially 332–35.

17 Jean Céard, *La Nature et les prodiges* (Geneva: Droz, 1977). Rondelet, in his preface, insists on God's hand in nature (*Histoire*, a3 r).

18 Paula Findlen, "Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, 2 (1990), 292.

19 George Hoffmann, "Monsters and Modal Logic among French Naturalists of the Renaissance," *South Central Review* 10, 2 (1993), 43.

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The Woodcuts

In the sixteenth century, the monkfish appears visually as an individualized type in several printed texts. One such text is Rondelet's *Libri de piscibus marinis*, published by Macé Bonhomme in Lyon in 1554, where an entire chapter entitled *de pisce monachi habitu* is devoted to the creature. The same woodcut is used to illustrate the 1558 French edition, *L'Histoire entière des poissons*, also from the same publisher. In both Latin and French versions, the monkfish is preceded by the "monstre Leonin" and followed by the "monstre marin en habit d'Evesque" (*de Monstro Leonino* and *de pisce Episcopi habitu* respectively).[20] The creature represented in these works is a hybrid: his round and tonsured human face tops a body dressed in a monk's frock. Hair and fleshy mouth, nose, cheeks, and double chin contrast sharply with fins and a mermaid's tail covered in scales. In a direct yet non-threatening encounter, the marine monster looks right at the reader (Figure 19.1).

Two other sixteenth-century works in French include a visual representation of the monkfish: Pierre Belon's *La Nature et diversité des poissons* (1555) and Ambroise Paré's *Des Monstres et prodiges* (1573).[21] The first of these works is of primary importance, as it connects with Rondelet's publication in several critical ways.[22] As with *L'Histoire entière des poissons*, Belon's *La Nature et diversité des poissons* is a translation of an earlier work, *De aquatilibus*, dated from 1553. Twice, then, did Belon manage to publish works on fish earlier than his counterpart from Montpellier.[23] With their French translations, both Rondelet and Belon tap into a wider readership composed of colleagues less well-versed in Latin than themselves and of patrons, male and female, eager to add to their collections of texts and to accumulate or discover new *curiosités*. For like reasons and because of his own deficiency in Latin, two decades later, Paré chose French, and not Latin, to write his observations on monsters.

Comparing Rondelet's woodcut with Belon's, one notices in the latter a bulkier body and a head turned sideways, allowing for an ear to be visible. The nose appears larger and the eyes are looking to the left, giving the viewer

20 For a detailed examination of the textual changes between Rondelet's Latin and French pages on the monkfish, see Mackenzie, "French Early Modern Sea-Monsters," 333–35.

21 Book IV of Konrad Gesner's *Historiae animalium, De piscium et aquatilium animantium natura* (1558) uses the same woodcut of the monkfish as Rondelet.

22 The remarks that follow are indebted to Glardon's introduction to his recent edition of Belon's *La Nature et diversité des poissons*.

23 Glardon has drawn our attention to the scholarly and publishing rivalry between Belon and Rondelet (*L'Histoire naturelle au XVI^e siècle*, 103–106).

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FIGURE 19.1 *Du monstre marin en habit de Moine. Guillaume Rondelet,* La première partie de l'Histoire entière des poissons [...]. *Lyon: Macé Bonhomme, 1558, p. 361. Université de Montréal. Bibliothèque des livres rares et collections spéciales. Collection Léo-Pariseau.*

authority over the creature that, in this rendition, does not return the gaze. Furthermore, the mouth is partially open and the eyebrows raised in fear or concern. Whereas Rondelet's monkfish appears slender, well proportioned, and serene, Belon's marine monster seems stressed (Figure 19.2).

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FIGURE 19.2 *Le monstre marin ayant façon d'un moyne. Pierre Belon,* De aquatilibus libri duo*. Paris: Charles Estienne, 1553.* BIU *Santé, Paris.*

The text accompanying Belon's woodcut hints at possible causes for this anxiety. Echoing the illustration, the textual description gives the geographic origin of his monkfish as well as some curious details:

> En Norvage, pres de la ville de Den Elepoch, au pays de Diezunt, fut trouvé un aultre monstre, ou poisson marin, portant la figure d'un moyne, en la figure que tu le verras peinct cy apres. Ce monstre, ainsy que plusieurs

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> le veirent, ne vescut sans plus que trois jours, et onc ne parla, ne jetta aultre voyx, sinon grands soupirs et plaintifs.
>
> GLARDON 404

> [In Norway, near the city of Den Elepoch in the region of Diezunt, was found another monster or ocean fish, bearing the face of a monk, the illustration of which you can see here. This monster, according to many who saw it, did not live more than three days, did not speak nor emitted any sound but great, plaintive sighs.]

Belon's monkfish, then, is more monk than fish, capable of sounds and emotions, if not speech. The monkfish is monstrous because it is *not* a fish and also, perhaps, because it represents deceit, a very human characteristic. Whereas Rondelet, by entitling his woodcut "du monstre marin en habit de Moine," underscores the attire worn by the marine animal—the materiality of its garment being almost palpable—Belon stresses deceitfulness in the caption that accompanies his own illustration, "le monstre marin *ayant façon d'*un moyne" (emphasis mine; "the marine monster *having the form of* a monk"). Dressed as a monk, Rondelet's fish simply wears a man's cloak; in Belon's account, on the other hand, the fraud is emphasized and the viewer is kept wondering about the identity of the creature. The divergent nature of Belon's sea animal is underlined further by the monkfish's position in the entire work and among the other woodcuts. In the chapter titled "Des monstres marins," Belon mixes monkfish, sea bishop, and Nereids—described individually by Rondelet—and seeks to concentrate the attention of the reader on the most unique and striking representative of his marine monsters, the monkfish, the description of which ends the section. The only monster visually represented in Belon is the monkfish. For Rondelet, however, the monkfish is one of many large fish grouped in Book 16, "Des poissons Cetacées é grandes bestes marines. É specialement des Tortues" ["Concerning cetaceous fish and large marine animals. And especially concerning tortoises"]. Monsters, in Rondelet, do not make headlines; they are more fish than man and are neither tortured creatures nor the fruit of his imagination. His monkfish is surrounded, visually, by many other curiosities. It is immediately preceded, in description and illustration, by the "monstre Leonin"—a scale-covered lion—and followed by the "monstre marin en habit d'Evesque"—the sea bishop—and the Nereids whose very existence is left unconfirmed by Rondelet.[24] If the monkfish is indeed a "monstre" for both Rondelet and Belon, it is so in name only.

24 "J'ai oui dire, mais je ne le veux asseurer" (*Histoire* I, 363) ["I've heard of it, but I cannot confirm it"]. Similarly, Rondelet doubts the existence of the "monstre Leonin," carefully

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A decade and a half after Belon's and Rondelet's publications, Paré echoes his predecessors, recasting their monsters and proposing a third woodcut. Recalling Rondelet's illustration, the surgeon's woodcut offers a slim creature whose portion of the hood around the neck is no longer covered with scales, and whose gaze is directed ever so slightly to the left, as in Belon's rendition. Paré, however, does not suggest as much duplicity and borrowed humanness in his monkfish as Belon did. On the contrary, he aligns himself squarely with Rondelet, referencing him openly by acknowledging him by name twice in his text and by including Rondelet's sea bishop in his large collection of monsters. In Paré's work, the illustration of what is now described as a "monstre marin ayant la teste d'un Moyne, armé, et couvert d'escailles de poisson" ["marine monster having the head of a monk, armed and covered in fish scales"] is accompanied by the following text (Figure 19.3):

> Rondelet, en son livre des Poissons, escrit qu'on a veu un monstre Marin en la mer de Nortwege, lequel si tost qu'il fut pris, chacun luy donna le nom de Moyne, et estoit tel comme tu peux voir par ce portraict. Un autre monstre descrit par ledit Rondelet, en façon d'un Evesque, vestu d'escaille, ayant sa mitre et ses ornemens pontificaux, comme tu vois par ceste figure, lequel a esté veu en Polongne, mil cinq cens trente et un, comme descrit Gesnerus.[25]

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detailing his reasons and blaming artists for embellishing or truncating their renditions: "Ce monstre ici pourtrait est perfait animal n'aiant aucunes parties propres pour nager. Parquoi j'ai souvent douté si c'estoit monstre marin … Encore que ceste description m'ait este baillée par gens de scavoir, é dignes de foi, si est ce que je pense que le peintre, i ait adjousté quelque chose du sien, é qu'il ait osté du naturel … En plusieurs autres monstres é bestes marines, les peintres i adjoustent é ostent beaucoup …" (*Histoire* 1, 360–61) ["The monster portrayed here is a perfect animal that does not have parts specific to swimming. This is why I have often doubted that it was a marine monster … Even though this description was given to me by knowledgeable and trustworthy men, I think the artist added something to and subtracted something from its natural form … Painters do add and subtract much to several other marine monsters and animals"]. Rondelet insists on being unable to judge the fish he has not seen and dissected, and, in the case of the *Ange*, Rondelet sharply criticizes those who claim that the fish can change color, arguing—somewhat strangely—why this cannot be so. He even accuses Pliny and Aristotle of reporting what they have not seen. Belon, on the other hand, expresses less reservation about the existence of the fish he compiles, including that of Tritons and other mermen.

25 Ambroise Paré, *Des monstres et prodiges*, ed. Jean Céard (Geneva: Droz, 1971), 104.

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> [Rondelet, in his book on fishes, writes that a marine monster was seen in the Norwegian sea, which, as soon as it was captured, was given the name of Monk by everyone and was as you can see portrayed here. Another monster described by the same Rondelet, in the form of a bishop, dressed in scales, wearing a mitre and pontifical ornements, as you can see in this illustration, was seen in Poland in 1531, as Gesnerus describes.]

What is striking in Paré's caption and text is the appropriation of Belon's phrase—*façon de*—and, simultaneously, the development of accounts and ideas from both Belon and Rondelet. Nevertheless, Paré, for whom "monsters are things that appear outside the course of Nature (and are usually signs of

DES MONSTRES. M.LXVII
A
B
Monſtre marin ayant la teſte d'vn Moyne, armé, & couuert d'eſcaille de poiſſon.
Rondelet en ſon liure des Poiſſons eſcrit, Rondelet.
qu'on a veu vn Monſtre marin en la mer de Nortvuege, lequel ſi toſt qu'il fut pris, chacun luy donna le nom de Moyne, & eſtoit tel comme tu peux voir par ce portraict.

FIGURE 19.3 *Monstre marin ayant la teste d'un Moyne, armé, & couvert d'escailles de poisson. Ambroise Paré,* Les Œuvres d'Ambroise Paré … *Paris: G. Buon, 1585.* BIU *Santé, Paris.*

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some forthcoming misfortune)," ultimately chooses to credit Rondelet for describing the monkfish and the sea bishop—and men in general for naming the monkfish.[26]

When describing monsters, sixteenth-century naturalists used rational ordering while believing they were signs of higher truths. *Monstrare* ["to show"] and *monere* ["to warn"] were inseparable. Wes Williams sees a turn inward of the monster starting around the 1550s when Rondelet's and Belon's works were published. He argues for a migration of monsters from the margins of creation to the center.[27] Indeed, monsters allow for a questioning of the self. However, few of those who dealt with monsters in the early modern period had the luxury to resort to escapism. Faced with religious pluralism, for example, both Catholic and Protestant humanists used monsters to circumvent power or to ridicule it. In the 1520s Luther and Melanchthon used the Pope-ass and the Monk Calf as polemical devices; two decades later, a German woodcut by Stefan Hamer depicting a monkfish emblazoned a broadsheet.[28] Charles Paxton posits that a similar image served as a common source for Rondelet and Belon.[29] Neither the French naturalists nor Paré engaged directly with Reformation propaganda, but they did utilize the image of the monkfish to position themselves, if not openly on the religious front, at least on the societal map of sixteenth-century France. Their woodcuts and tales of monkfish, with all their respective individual characteristics, tell us that a single phenomenon could have diverse interpretations and that sixteenth-century scholars used different approaches to try to circumvent and make sense of the same creature, real or imagined. The Renaissance was not a time of unilateral and uniform theories. Humanists (and religious polemicists alike) showed independent thinking and originality in their analyses while borrowing from one another. Less than the emerging signs of a scientific discourse, Rondelet's, Belon's, and

26 Such is the very beginning of Paré's work. Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 3: "Monstres sont choses qui apparoissent outre le cours de Nature (et sont le plus souvent signes de quelque malheur à advenir)." In Paré's view monsters are distinct from marvels, which happen against nature. However, as Céard points out, Paré's examples of monsters and marvels are not always consistent with these definitions (*Des monstres*, xxviii).

27 Wes Williams, *Monsters and Their Meanings in Early Modern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6.

28 Céard, *La Nature*, 79–84. See also Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 129–33.

29 Charles G. M. Paxton and R. Holland, "Was Steenstrup Right? A New Interpretation of the 16th Century Sea Monk of the Øresund," *Steenstrupia* 29, 1 (2005), 39–47.

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Paré's works contain the vagaries of their explorations of the natural world. Their textual and visual descriptions include details about the morphology of the animal under investigation, its habitat, and less conventional and formatted information—to our modern mind—such as anecdotal encounters with the fish—literary and material.

Rondelet's textual commentary, for example, provides a detailed explanation in which the physician stresses not only where and when his monkfish was found, but also, more importantly, who provided the evidence for it:

> De nostre tems en Nortvege on a pris un monstre de mer, apres une grande tourmente, lequel tous ceux qui le virent, incontinent lui donnerent le nom de Moine. Car il avoit la face d'home, mais rustique é malgratieuse, la teste rase é lize. Sur les espaules comme un capuchon de Moine, deux longues pinnes au lieu de bras, le bout du corps finissant en une queüe large. Le pourtrait sur lequel j'ai fait faire le present m'a esté donné par tresillustre dame Marguerite de Valois Roine de Navarre, lequel elle avoit eu d'un gentilhome qui en portoit un semblable à l'Empereur Charles cinquième, estant lors en Hespagne. Le gentilhome disoit avoir veu ce monstre tel comme son pourtrait le portoit, en Nortvege jetté par les flots é tempeste de la mer sur la Plage au lieu nommé Dieze pres d'une ville nommée Denelopoch. J'en ai veu un semblable pourtrait à Rome ne different en rien du mien. Entre les bestes marines Pline fait mention de l'home marin, é de Triton comme choses non feintes. Pausanias aussi fait mention du Triton.
>
> *HISTOIRE* I, 362

> [In our time in Norway was captured, after a great struggle, a sea monster, which was immediately called a Monk by all who saw it. For it had the face of a man, but rough and ugly, with a smooth-shaven head. On its shoulders, it had something like a monk's hood, two long fins in the place of arms, with the torso ending in a large tail. The rendering on which I based the present one was given to me by Marguerite de Valois, Queen of Navarre, which she had received from a gentleman who gave a similar one to the Emperor Charles V, being then in Spain. The gentleman claimed to have seen the monster as depicted in the portrait, thrown up by the waves on the beach of a place called Dieze near a town called Denelopoch. I saw a similar rendering in Rome that was exactly like mine. Among sea creatures Pliny mentions a merman and a Triton as things not imagined [i.e., real]. Pausanias also mentions the Triton …]

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In Rondelet's description, the monkfish symbolizes itinerancy and movement across geographic spaces. It links Northern and Southern Europe, traveling from Norway to Spain, the French kingdom, and Italy. A crossover being, it transcends natural and political boundaries. Rondelet, working in the absence of a specimen, is faced with the impossibility of autopsy. The portrait of the monkfish he receives, then, compensates for the lack of specimen and serves as substitute or proxy for the real thing.[30] Rondelet chooses to crosscheck this portrait against another one to which he has access in Rome, and with the writings of ancient scholars. His findings seem satisfactory, for he does not express doubt or skepticism about the sea animal in his commentary. In addition, Rondelet reveals a visual multiplication of the monkfish in the sixteenth century. From this description, we learn that, prior to 1550, although there was no specimen of the monkfish available, at least three portraits were in circulation, to which Rondelet's and Belon's woodcuts, as well as Paré's later, must be added. The "scientific" knowledge and reproduction of the monkfish were due to competition or esteem among humanist scholars, and also to connections with royal patrons.

Marguerite de Navarre as Patron of Science and Knowledge

Marguerite de Navarre's concerns with spirituality, religious reform, and politics are well known and continue to generate rich scholarship.[31] The queen's literary patronage has also been established, and her correspondence shows

30 The circulation of portraits was not exceptional. Gudger ("Beginnings of Fish Teratology," 257) refers to another example of a fish portrait gifted to Gesner this time. Sachiko Kusukawa discusses portraits serving as substitutes for specimen in "The Role of Images in the Development of Renaissance Natural History," *Archives of Natural History* 38, 2 (2011), 191.

31 Her correspondence with Vittoria Colonna and Guillaume Briçonnet has received scholarly attention; see Barry Collett, *A Long and Troubled Pilgrimage: The Correspondence of Marguerite de Navarre and Vittoria Colonna, 1540–1545* (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 2000). Her epistolary relation with the bishop of Meaux can be found in Guillaume Briçonnet and Marguerite de Navarre, *Correspondance* (*1521–1524*), eds. Christine Martineau and Michel Veissière, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1975–79). Her political correspondence has been studied, most recently, by Jonathan Reid. See his *King's Sister—Queen of Dissent: Marguerite de Navarre* (*1492–1549*) *and Her Evangelical Network*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2009). See also the recent *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, eds. Gary Ferguson and Mary B. McKinley, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

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that she was actively engaged in supporting both scholars and institutions of learning. On June 13, 1534, Philipp Melanchthon sent a letter to the queen asking her to help finance the studies of her compatriot, Claude Baduel, a Nîmois enrolled as a student in Wittenberg at the time.[32] Although we cannot be certain that Marguerite responded to the request positively—we do not have her answer—scholars tend to think that she did assist the said Baduel, who soon became professor at the Université de Paris and who, in 1539, was appointed to a chair in the newly established university in Nîmes, in favor of which the Queen had worked.[33] In his letter, Melanchthon paints Marguerite as the patron saint of French students: "Il [Baduel] estime que tous gens d'estude ayant le titre de François ont leur naturelle espérance en vostre altesse [...] Aussy a-t-il résolu de se réfugier à vostre altesse, et la supplie de venir libéralement au secours de ses estudes (293) ["He believes that all students of French nationality can count on your Highness [...] Thus he has resolved to appeal to your Highness and beg her to provide generous support for his studies"].

Melanchthon is so convinced that the Queen of Navarre will not be indifferent to Baduel's plea that he takes up the student's cause and speaks for him:

> Il ne fault point douter que vostre altesse, veu ceste admirable piété, ne prenne en bien ce que je fais, puisque la charité chrestienne, surtout en ce haut rang, ne saurait mieux s'exercer qu'en estant pitoyable aux misères des studieux, les considérant et les soulageant; surtout quand les bonnes estudes ne peuvent durer, sinon par l'appui et libéralité des grands personnages.
>
> *LETTRES* 292

> [There is no doubt that your Highness, given such admirable piety, will look favorably on what I do, since there is no greater proof of Christian charity, especially in one of such high rank, than to take pity on the wretchedness of studious men and alleviate it. All the more so when worthy study cannot long endure without the support and generosity of the great.]

32 *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême, sœur de François I^er^, reine de Navarre*, ed. François Génin (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1841), 292–94.

33 Barbara Stephenson, *The Power and Patronage of Marguerite de Navarre* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 178.

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Counting Marguerite as one of the patron queens whom the prophet Isaiah compared to spiritual wet nurses, Melanchthon extends her power to all students.[34]

No other communication from Melanchthon is included in Génin's edited volume of Marguerite's letters. Therefore, we appear to have a short-term correspondence between the two individuals, a weak tie, perhaps, but a crucial one for the diffusion of power, influence, and knowledge. Contrasted with more regular, and thus fuller exchanges of letters, such as the one between the Queen of Navarre and her brother François 1^er^'s Constable, Anne de Montmorency, this kind of short-term clientage relationship was not uncommon in the sixteenth century and may account for the portrait of the monkfish received by Rondelet.[35] Here we can only attempt to reconstruct possible intersections. We do know that Marguerite was in Provence in 1536 while Rondelet was finishing his medical studies in his hometown, where he would start teaching in 1539. In a letter dated 1536, and perhaps written in Nîmes, Marguerite mentions that she has received information from Montpellier (*Lettres*, 311). In another one from Valence, she states that she is on her way to Montpellier (324). Although there is no trace of epistolary contact between Marguerite and Rondelet, a connection, mediated or not, is certain, since the naturalist was unlikely to claim a gift from the queen had it not taken place. Furthermore, to present and to assert the monkfish, Rondelet cites as his source Marguerite de Navarre, whom he places next to Pliny and Pausanias. In the absence of a monkfish specimen, Rondelet places Marguerite's gift at the heart of his scientific knowledge, the queen extending her royal patronage not only to students, but also to natural history, which she authenticates.

34 "Ce sera une aumosne vrayment royale au profit de l'église chrestienne que d'entretenir et nourrir tells esprits. Le très sainct prophète Isaïe louant ceste sorte d'aumosnes, dict que les roynes seront les nourrices des studieux de l'Évangile, au nombre desquelles l'Église vous met depuis long temps par tout l'univers, et vous citera jusques à la dernière postérité, car entre toutes les vertus que la veritable Église cultive avec un grand zèle, la reconnaissance est au premier rang" (294) ["Supporting and nourishing such souls will be a truly royal gift for the advantage of the Christian church. The truly holy prophet Isaiah, in praising this type of charity, said that queens will be the wet nurses of students of the Gospel, among whom the Church has counted you everywhere and for so long, and will remember you until the last generation, for among all the virtues that the true Church cultivates with such zeal, gratitude is the first."].

35 For a discussion of the importance of such short clientage relationships, see Stephenson, *The Power and Patronage*, 18.

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The Anonymous Collaborators

Along with Marguerite and other influential patrons, such as the Cardinal de Tournon, whom Rondelet served as physician and with whom he traveled extensively to Italy, the Low Countries and France, a group of anonymous collaborators assisted the naturalist in his quest for knowledge. I will end with these unidentified helpers whose role, for Rondelet, was essential for his art. In the *Histoire*, he regularly mentions fishermen who might have lent their boats and on whose close collaboration he must have relied. The naturalist talks about "nos pescheurs" and "les mariniers" (*Histoire* I, 201), the "nos" in "nos pescheurs" denoting Rondelet's physical proximity and his familiarity with these men who caught fish near Montpellier—in the lakes of Martigues and Lattes, for example—as well as their colleagues in the larger Mediterranean, off the coasts of Marseille, Venice, Spain, Genoa, Pézenas, Béziers, Narbonne, Naples, Rome, Agde, Maguelone, Armenia, Babylon, Greece, and Alexandria—all places mentioned in the *Histoire*. Rondelet also describes mariners at work in Bordeaux, Brittany, Normandy, Rhodes, Norway, and in oriental regions, and as far as the Americas. Furthermore, fish are caught in Lake Geneva, the Seine, the Garonne and the Rhône, in Germany and Savoy. Not only are Frenchmen and Spaniards engaged in fishing, so are the Turks, Africans, Persians, Egyptians, and Arabs. Rondelet's narrative allows us to draw a spatial map of fishermen's early modern theater of operations, one that spreads over four continents. The flow of fish is constant, in rivers, seas, and oceans, and even on land: once caught close to the cap de Sète and salted, the *daurades* or sea bream, for example, are transported all over Languedoc and as far as Dauphiné, where they are sold for Lent.

Equally crucial to Rondelet's enterprise are the cooks who prepare the fish caught by "our" fishermen. He frequently gives abbreviated recipes and detailed culinary advice. The parrotfish, for example, is best grilled, fricasseed, or boiled (145). Similarly, the *coracinus*,

> s'il est petit, on l'acoustre en Languedoc comme la Daurade, ou on le frit en la poele, ou on le rostit sur le gril. S'il est grand on le boullit avec eau, vinaigre, é vin é on le mange avec le vinaigre, ou avec verjus d'ozeille. Si on le veut long tems garder, on le rostit, puis on i met du vinaigre, du poevre avec feuilles de laurier ou myrte. S'il est salé on le boullist, é on le mange avec vinaigre.
>
> *HISTOIRE* I, 120.

> [if it is small, they prepare it in Languedoc like sea bream, or fry it in a skillet or roast it on a grill. If it is large, they boil it with water, vinegar

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> and wine, and they eat it with vinegar or with sorrel verjuice. If they want to preserve it, they roast it, then add vinegar, pepper and bay or myrtle leaves. If it has been salted, they boil it and eat it with vinegar.]

Rondelet's treatise on fish not only includes monsters, it also contains elaborate recipes. What has been categorized as a scientific project actually comprises, among other *curiosités*, a cookbook.

Finally, fellow doctors complete the list of Rondelet's anonymous fishermen and cooks. The physician explains the medicinal benefits of certain fish, like the same *coracinus* that "peuvent servir contre la gravelle, ou en brisant la pierre, ou desechant le phlegme du quel est engendrée é retenüe la gravelle, ou de son poix la poussant en bas, comme la pierre Judaique, de laquelle usent les praticiens" (*Histoire* I, 120) ["can prove a remedy for kidney stones, breaking them up or drying the phlegm from which the stones are formed and in which they are retained, or by its weight pushing them through, like the Jewish Stone [powdered fossil sea urchin spines], used by practicioners"]. Might it be through doctors that Rondelet had access to Marguerite de Navarre, who mentions his colleague, Maistre Jean Goinret, in her letters?[36] The question remains unanswered.

We can sometimes trace back the crossings that made the creation and dissemination of knowledge in the sixteenth century possible. Often, however, such encounters remain conjectural, but what cannot be underestimated is the role that royal patronage, networks, and chance played in collections of curiosities and in scientific discoveries. After all, what were the odds that Marguerite de Navarre would offer Rondelet the portrait of a monkfish? And what were the chances that the naturalist who showed diligence in his dissections would consider the "monstre marin en habit de Moine" as its own species, and not a *Lophius piscatorius*, or a *Squatina*, or a hybrid of the two, or a fake entirely? For he who scolded his counterparts for seeing a monster in the *Galanga* persisted in seeing a fish in his monkfish.

As sixteenth-century scholars, princes, and mariners traveled the Mediterranean and beyond, material objects like books, letters, paintings, and woodcuts circulated as well. So did fish and knowledge. The flow of people, objects, fish, and knowledge was constant, but not always smooth and uninterrupted. Images contributed greatly to the development of Renaissance natural

36 See, for example, a 1526 letter from Marguerite to Montmorency (*Lettres*, 220). Génin's note on page 220 states that the doctor seemed loyal to Marguerite and might have served as "courrier" for her. I have not been able to find more information about this doctor.

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history, and yet they could hinder it (Kusukawa, "Role," 206–207). The analysis of woodcuts illustrating the monkfish in sixteenth-century French texts shows that knowledge was appropriated by individuals. The fact that scholars approached evidence quite differently adds to the unpredictability, the unevenness of the transmission of knowledge. For Rondelet, for example, the gift from a patron was almost enough to make him believe in the monkfish, whereas, singling out the fish as a monster, Belon seemed more incredulous, perhaps influenced by religious polemics. Natural history in the sixteenth century, dependent on communication as it was, remained sometimes anchored in blind faith.

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CHAPTER 20

Making the Stones Speak: The Curious Observations of Gabriele Simeoni

Karen Simroth James

Les Illustres Observations antiques du seigneur Gabriel Symeon, Florentin, en son dernier voyage d'Italie l'an 1557 (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1558) presents a dizzying combination of iconographic, literary, and historical elements.[1] The work incorporates many popular Renaissance themes and genres—archeology and the glories of classical antiquity, architecture, numismatics, Ovidian mythology, travel narrative, French and Italian lyric forms, and emblem literature—but fits neatly into none. Ostensibly written to convey his observations of the most exquisite and rare vestiges of antiquity encountered during his travels to Italy in the previous year, Simeoni's work mixes the real and the historical with the imaginary and the literary. He invents monuments along the way, adding his own Latin inscriptions in a manner reminiscent of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, and yet presented as observed by Simeoni himself in his journey: "… j'entreprins aussi d'observer et noter toutes les choses antiques plus exquises, rares, et delectables, qui se presenteroient à mes yeux" (3) ["… I likewise set about to observe and make note of all the most exquisite, rare, and delectable ancient things that would appear before my eyes"].

It is precisely those imaginary detours in his itinerary—attributed to ignorance by a nineteenth-century biographer who expressed disdain for Simeoni's many "fake or modern" monuments—that intrigue us.[2] What do they tell us about the fascination with ancient ruins and inscriptions in Renaissance France and the simultaneous urge to create new works to rival the past? What

1 The French edition of *Les Illustres Observations antiques du seigneur Gabriel Symeon, Florentin, en son dernier voyage d'Italie l'an 1557* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1558) in the Douglas H. Gordon Collection at the University of Virginia Library is available in digital facsimile at http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u2262391. Later in 1558, Jean de Tournes also published Simeoni's Italian version of the text, *Illustratione de gli epitaffi e medaglie antiche de M. Gabriel Symeoni Fiorentino*.

2 The entry for Simeoni's *Illustres Observations antiques* indicates that most of the monuments reported in the book are "évidemment faux ou modernes" (368) ["obviously fake or modern"]. *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne, ou, Histoire, par ordre alphabétique, de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes*, 52 vols. (Paris: L. G. Michaud, 1825), vol. 42.

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do his uses of French and Italian lyric and emblematic formats in this curious travel narrative tell us about the relationship between monuments, tombs, fountains, medals, and inscriptions—real and imagined—and the verse and prose texts that describe and interpret them? What light might these inventions shed on contemporary intellectual and aesthetic tastes and on the professional and commercial endeavors of author and publisher?

Although not widely studied today, Gabriele Simeoni's life (1509–70?) and career embody the central cultural, aesthetic, and political rapports between France and Italy in the mid-sixteenth century. At age 19, the young humanist scholar accompanied the Florentine ambassador to Paris, to the court of François 1er, followed by travels to London, Florence, Rome, and Venice, (unsuccessfully) seeking prestige and a permanent patron. Simeoni returned to France in 1547, first to Lyon, spending the next ten years between France and Italy, all the while writing and publishing in French, Italian, and Latin, and in many domains, including translation, poetry, archeology, military history, and astrology. In 1557, he set out for Italy and, upon his return to Lyon, promptly published his account of the treasures of antiquity encountered on that journey.[3]

Simeoni indicates that he aims to record the many inscriptions on the monuments and statues he observed in his travels to and from Italy, reflecting and capitalizing in particular on the popularity of Roman epigraphy and numismatics throughout the sixteenth century in Italy and France. Humanist scholars built collections of the inscriptions they themselves copied down in their travels and those reported to them by other scholars, and of ancient coins and medals collected in France and Italy. Through the study of inscriptions on tombs, monuments, and coins, scholars sought the philological and historical insights they needed for a better understanding of Roman culture and law. In the 1530s, guidebooks to Rome and its antiquities began being printed for those traveling to view the ancient monuments themselves. In his *Antiquae Romae Topographia*, published in 1534 in Rome (A. Blado) and in Lyon (edited

3 In his preface to the Cardinal de Lorraine, Simeoni indicates that he followed the cardinal's brother, the Duc de Guise, in his travels to Italy (A2v). Citing the manuscript autobiography in the *Vita e Rime de Gabriello Simeoni* (ms Panciatichiano 143, Bibl. Naz., Firenze), Toussaint Rinucci reports that Simeoni traveled to Italy in 1557 specifically at the urging and in the company of Antoine du Prat, the young prévôt de Paris. See *Un Aventurier des lettres au XVIe siècle, Gabriel Symeoni, Florentin, 1509–1570?* (Paris: Didier, 1943), 91–92. For Simeoni's brief autobiographical account of this journey and subsequent publication of his book, see Franco Tomasi's recent critical edition of the *Vita* in *Gabriele Simeoni (1509–1570?): Un Florentin en France entre princes et libraries*, eds. Silvia D'Amico and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Geneva: Droz, 2016), 551–52.

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by Rabelais for Sébastien Gryphe), Bartolomeo Marliani used inscriptions to identify buildings and sites, reinforcing, as William Stenhouse notes, "the idea that any study of ancient Rome involved the study of these written texts" (41).[4] Sixteenth-century book illustration increasingly included depictions of reconstructed monuments and topographies of Rome.[5]

Simeoni's volume inserts itself into that epigraphic tradition, which was profoundly influenced by Andrea Alciato and Jean Matal, two key figures in sixteenth-century epigraphy in Italy and southern France. As an adolescent, Alciato (1492–1550) was fascinated by inscriptions and collected them along with drawings of the monuments. Beneficial to his study of law and to his career as a legal professor in universities in northern Italy and southern France, epigraphy remained an independent interest throughout his life. As an early sign of Simeoni's passion for epigraphy, Richard Cooper notes a letter sent by Simeoni in response to a question from Alciato about the interpretation of an enigmatic epigraph. Simeoni's reply included three other epigraphs found in Switzerland and one in Arles.[6]

Matal (1520?–97) was a French humanist from Burgundy who moved to Rome to serve as secretary to Spanish Jurist and scholar Antonio Agustín. Matal and Agustín had met while studying law in Bologna under Alciato. An important figure in this intellectual current, Matal amassed a huge manuscript collection of several thousand inscriptions and persuaded scholars throughout Europe, including Rabelais, to send him contributions. Collections of inscriptions first included only text, but some printers and scholars—notably Alciato—began to reproduce the larger context of the monuments on which the inscription appeared. Although Matal was not an artist, he, like Alciato, recorded detailed descriptions of the monument or had an artist draw the monument as an aid to understanding the text. Simeoni follows this model, indicating, for example, that he had an artist create the vignette of Vaucluse (present-day Fontaine-de-Vaucluse) after his detailed notes and description to reproduce the image of it

4 Stenhouse adds that unfortunately Marliani's inscriptions were not always accurate. See *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London School of Advanced Study, 2005), 41.

5 For an overview of these developments, see Rebecca Zorach, *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the* Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae (Chicago: University of Chicago Joseph Regenstein Library, 2008), 12. A digitized edition of the *Speculum* is available online: http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu. See also Richard Cooper's extensive study, *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1516–65* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

6 "Gabriele Simeoni et les antiquités de Lyon," in D'Amico and Magnien-Simonin, *Gabriele Simeoni (1509–1570?)*, 300.

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that, since his visit, remained etched in his brain: "demeurree depuis ce temps là tousjours empreinte en mon cerueau" (28).

Antoine Lafréry, another Frenchman from Burgundy in Rome, published an important series of large-format engravings of Roman monuments and buildings that came to be known as the *Speculum romanae magnificentiae*. It was Lafréry who introduced Matal to French antiquarian Guillaume du Choul in Lyon, leading to scientific and scholarly exchange between the two (Zorach, 27). Du Choul, himself an avid collector of coins and medals from antiquity, sent inscriptions from Lyon and the south of France to Matal in Rome. In Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé published Du Choul's volumes on military history and religion in ancient Rome, with reproductions of numerous inscriptions and coins, and Simeoni translated both of Du Choul's books for Rouillé's subsequent Italian editions.[7] Here, as in many of his other works, Simeoni is directly associated with Lyonnais publications focusing on Roman antiquity, as well as with works published in the epigraphical and emblematic tradition launched by Alciato and followed passionately by Renaissance humanists, including Du Choul. In 1560, Simeoni completed his own illustrated volume on the *Origine et antichità di Lioni*, which included many reproductions of Roman coins, monuments, and inscriptions found in Lyon, but which remained unpublished until 1846 (Renucci, xvi; 280–81).[8]

For Alciato and the others, the ancient inscriptions, monuments, and their decoration were puzzles requiring erudite solutions. This approach was perhaps most applicable to coins and medals, with their abbreviated text and minimal, iconic images, which created problems of interpretation for Renaissance scholars, much like Egyptian hieroglyphs. Like ancient coins, Renaissance emblems—a genre Alciato founded with his *Emblematum liber* (1531)—offered "deliberately puzzling connections of illustrations with short epigrams

7 In the 1558 dedication of Du Choul's *Religione antica de Romani* to the queen of France, Catherine de' Medici, Rouillé highlights the importance of publishing the work in the most beautiful format and in the most beautiful language, Catherine's *toscano* (3–4). For more about Du Choul and his contemporaries in Lyon, see Richard Cooper, "Guillaume du Choul et son cercle Lyonnais," in *Lyon et l'illustration de la langue française à la Renaissance*, eds. Gérard Defaux and Bernard Colombat (Lyon: ENS, 2003), 261–86.

8 See Richard Cooper, "Humanistes et Antiquaires à Lyon," in *Il Rinascimento a Lione: Atti del Congresso Internazionale* (*macerato, 6–11 Maggio 1985*), eds. Antonio Possenti and Giulia Mastrangelo (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1988), 159–74. For more about Simeoni's extensive study and recording of the vestiges of Roman antiquity in Lyon, see Cooper, "Gabriele Simeoni et les antiquités de Lyon."

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designed to represent a particular conceit" (Stenhouse, 65).[9] In her study of Diana in the many printed works of Roman numismatics published in France during the reigns of François Ier and Henri II, Edith Karagiannis notes that accompanying commentaries, while seeking to contribute to a scientific discourse, also point beyond the inscriptions and figures to other considerations.[10]

Emblem books in the format made popular by Alciato relate to both epigraphy and numismatics and often feature an enigmatic relationship between text and image. By mid-century, emblematic publications came to encompass a variety of types of content, including religious texts, mythology, and Egyptian hieroglyphs. Lyric verse was not to be excluded from the emblematic format, as in, for example, Scève's *Délie* (1544) and the verse adaptations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*—the *Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée* (1557) and the *Vita et Metamorfoseo d'Ovidio figurato* (1559)—all published in Lyon. Not coincidentally, lyric poetry in French and Italian, emblem books, numismatics, inscriptions, and travel narratives were all essential components of Jean de Tournes's publishing enterprise, with Bernard Salomon as his most famous illustrator, and were likewise central to the output of other key printers in Lyon, notably Guillaume Rouillé.

Three passages in particular from the *Illustres Observations* offer fertile ground for exploration of the relationship between these diverse genres and fields of knowledge in Simeoni's own work, and in the larger context of intellectual and esthetic tastes and publishing trends in sixteenth-century France. In the first of these passages, on his way to Italy, Simeoni passes through Avignon, where he finds nothing *antique* but the 200-year-old tomb of Laura, which he relates was discovered by order of the late king, François Ier. Simeoni recounts his own discovery there of a medal, found under Laura's head in the tomb, that he has copied for his readers: "de laquelle je prins le double tel, que l'on voit par la presente figure" (13) ["of which I made a copy, such as can be seen in the figure here"] (Figure 20.1).

9 See also John Cunnally, "Coin Books and Emblem Books in the Sixteenth Century," chap. 10 in *Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 105–22.

10 "Diane chez les 'antiquaires': Le Discours sur les médailles," in *Le Mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle: Actes du colloque* (*ENS, Bd Jourdan* [*Paris*], *29–31 Mai 2001*), eds. Jean-Raymond Fanlo and Marie-Dominique Legrand (Niort: Association des Amis d'Agrippa d'Aubigné, 2002), 228. Karagiannis examines Du Choul's influence on emblematic reproductions of the figure of Diana, noting that his *De la religion des anciens romains* (Lyon: Rouillé, 1555) includes reproductions of 16 coins representing the goddess (228–29).

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FIGURE 20.1 *Laura's Medal in Avignon.* Les Illustres Obseruations antiques du seigneur Gabriel Symeon, Florentin: en son dernier voyage d'Italie l'an 1557 (*1558*), *13. Douglas H. Gordon Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

All was silent at the tomb, Simeoni explains: nothing spoke ("rien ne parloit") except the verses found there, composed by the king's noble spirit/mind: "sinon ces vers, composez par le noble esprit dudit Roy" (13). Reproducing the 8-line epigram reportedly written by François 1er, Simeoni associates himself here not only with the French king's visit to Laura's tomb and his poetic accomplishments, but also with the larger literary tradition of the discovery of the beloved lady's tomb, a discovery linking poets and publishers to Petrarchan fame. In the *Petrarca* of 1545, Jean de Tournes recounts his own discovery in Sébastien Gryphe's print shop of the Italian language and its poetry, including the wonders of Petrarch's *canzoniere*. Tournes associates his experience with Scève's legendary discovery of Laura's tomb in Avignon in 1533.

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Simeoni then adds that the king's poem gave him the courage to write his own verses in Tuscan, "renouuellant ainsi la memoire de la dame, & l'amour de Petrarque" (14) ["thus renewing the memory of the lady and of Petrarch's love"]. In Simeoni's sonnet to Laura, the first two quatrains set up the point of comparison: just as the Florentine poet sang of your beauty and your graceful soul, in life and in death, "cosi io"—so I, too, write of your and his immortal fame. Gabriele's sonnet concludes with the bold assertion that, with his art, "Lascio qui di noi tre nuova memoria" (14) ["I leave here a new memory of the three of us"]. The poet records the following trajectory: I visit Laura's tomb, see and reproduce the king's verses about it (and the coin reportedly found under Laura's head), which inspire my own verses in Italian, linking me eternally with Laura and Petrarch (and the king). To reinforce this not-so-subtle self-promotion, on the following page appears a new tombstone for Laura, erected here in the book by Simeoni, with the inscription he has composed, signed, and dated (on the "stone" as it appears on the page) (Figure 20.2).

After visiting Laura's tomb in Avignon, Simeoni stops in Fontaine-de-Vaucluse, where he visits the "maisonette de Pétrarque" (28) ["Petrarch's cottage"]. After producing a "vignette" of the landscape and composing a poem in Italian about the ravages of time, Simeoni tells us that, upon leaving, he engraved with the tip of a knife—"avec la pointe d'un cousteau"—a Latin inscription on a stone in front of the little house, linking his name and handiwork to the famous poet and his beloved lady (30) (Figures 20.3 and 20.4).

The typographical representation of Simeoni's name engraved along with Laura's and Petrarch's on the stone by the house provides a visual complement to the sonnet on the previous page, in which the poet links his own name and fame with that of Laura and Petrarch (and indirectly with the French king). Simeoni may have believed his readers would recognize and remember his association with Laura and Petrarch and his role in preserving their memory if it were written in stone—or printed on paper.[11] We learn from Simeoni's *Vita* that he believed this association with Petrarch was written in the stars from the moment he was born. The astrological context of his birth, which Simeoni explains was "molto simile a qualla del Petrarcha" (534) ["very similar

11 Simeoni left a simple inscription of his name on Petrarch's tomb in Arquà on the same trip (1557–58), as reported in D.-M. Manni's biography of Simeoni (*Le Veglie piacevoli,* D.-M. Manni, vol. 2, 111) and cited by Toussaint Renucci (139). Renucci also notes that Simeoni visited Dante's tomb at least twice (140–41). On one of the visits, he left a sonnet, reproduced in the *Illustres Observations antiques*, and which, not surprisingly, compares his fate to that of the earlier Florentine poet (73). Regarding this episode, see *Vita di M. Gabriel Symeoni*, 544.

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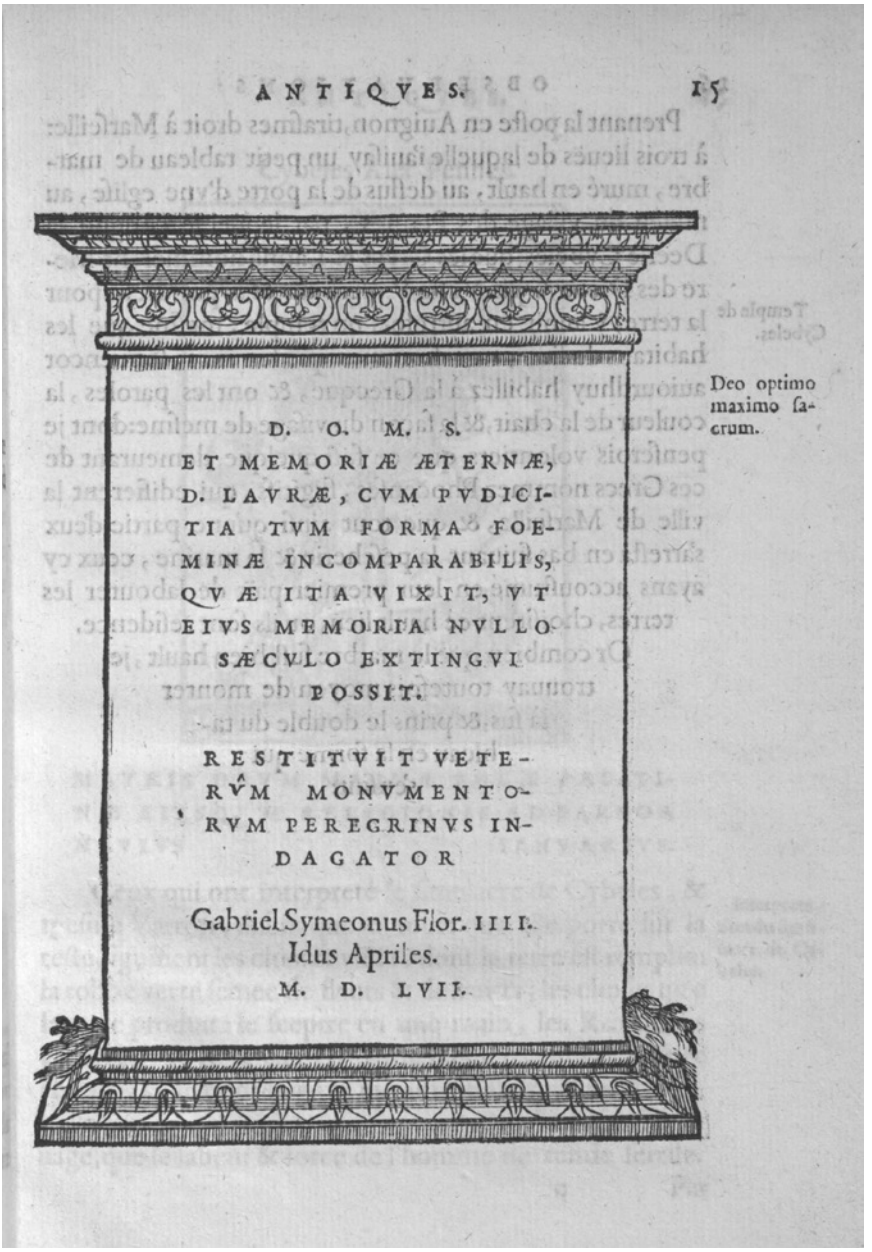
ANTIQVES. 15
Deo optimo maximo sacrum.
D. O. M. S.
ET MEMORIÆ ÆTERNÆ,
D. LAVRÆ, CVM PVDICITIA TVM FORMA FOEMINÆ INCOMPARABILIS,
QVÆ ITA VIXIT, VT EIVS MEMORIA NVLLO SÆCVLO EXTINGVI POSSIT.
RESTITVIT VETERVM MONVMENTORVM PEREGRINVS INDAGATOR
Gabriel Symeonus Flor. IIII. Idus Apriles.
M. D. LVII.

FIGURE 20.2 *Monument and inscription for Laura.* Les Illustres Obseruations antiques du seigneur Gabriel Symeon, Florentin: en son dernier voyage d'Italie l'an 1557 (*1558*), *15. Douglas H. Gordon Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

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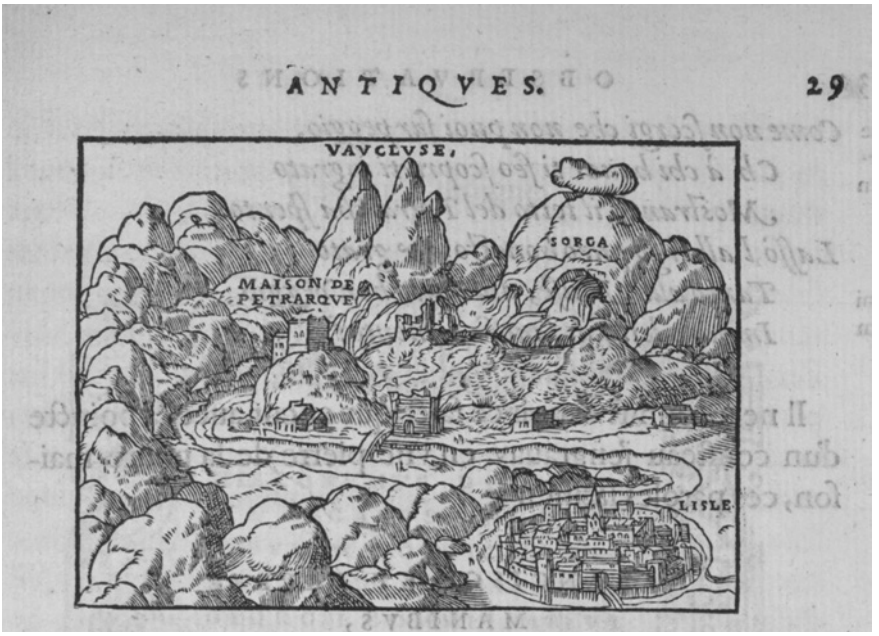
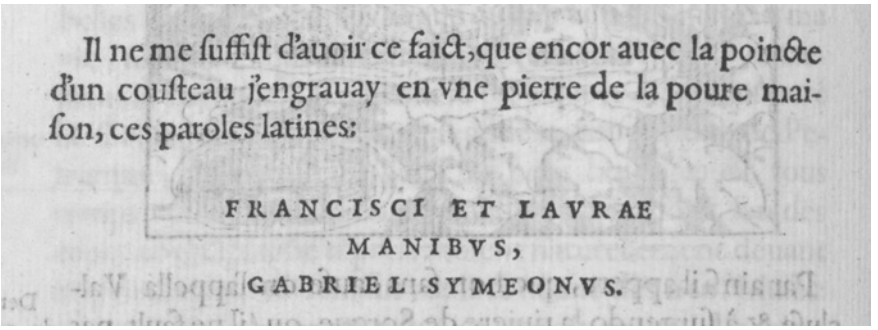


FIGURE 20.3 *Vaucluse.* Les Illustres Obseruations antiques du seigneur Gabriel Symeon, Florentin: en son dernier voyage d'Italie l'an 1557 (*1558*), *29. Douglas H. Gordon Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*


Il ne me ſuffiſt d'auoir ce faict, que encor auec la poincte d'un couſteau j'engrauay en vne pierre de la poure maiſon, ces paroles latines:

FRANCISCI ET LAVRAE
MANIBVS,
GABRIEL SYMEONVS.

FIGURE 20.4 *Inscription on stone at Petrarch's house.* Les Illustres Obseruations antiques du seigneur Gabriel Symeon, Florentin: en son dernier voyage d'Italie l'an 1557 (*1558*), *30. Douglas H. Gordon Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

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to Petrarch's"], is reflected in the engraved portrait of the author on the title page of the *Illustres Observations*.[12]

Upon his return through France, in a visit to the Château d'Anet, built by Henri II for Diane de Poitiers and designed by Philibert de l'Orme, Simeoni encounters the fountain dedicated to Diana, the huntress, that inspires his effort to "faire la fontaine parler" ["make the fountain speak"] in verse, just as he produced verse—the king's and his own—at Laura's tomb, where "rien ne parloit" ["nothing spoke"]. In Simeoni's Italian poem, Diana transforms one of her nymphs at Anet into a fountain in her honor. Along with the reference to the fountain of Diana at the Château d'Anet, Simeoni's text includes a woodcut depicting the metamorphosis of the imaginary fountain evoked by his poem (96) (Figure 20.5).

Simeoni then tells us that his verse reminds him of the fountain where Acteon tragically encountered Diana in Ovidian myth, whereupon he provides the corresponding woodcut used for this scene in Jean de Tournes's *Metamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, published in 1557, and again in Tournes's 1559 Italian edition of that work, with Simeoni's own verses (*La Vita et Metamorfoseo d'Ouidio, figurato & abbreuiato in forma d'epigrammi da M. Gabriello Symeoni*).[13] The Italian epigram that Simeoni includes here in the *Illustres Observations* reappears later in the emblematic publication of *La Vita et Metamorfoseo d'Ouidio* with the same woodcut illustration (97) (Figure 20.6).

On the following page, the epigraphic inscription (signed by Simeoni) for Diane de Poitiers, Duchesse de Valentinois, and Henri, the Valois Apollo, appears within the decorative arabesque frame used in many of Tournes's

12 See Alexandre Parnotte, "'Per favore delle stelle': Lecture iconographique de la page de titre des *Illustres Observations antiques* de Gabriele Symeoni," in D'Amico and Magnien-Simonin, *Gabriele Simeoni* (*1509–1570?*), 123–72.

13 For an analysis of the differences between Simeoni's Italian epigrams for the *Metamorfoseo d'Ovidio, figurato*, and the French epigrams for the Ovidian text in Jean de Tournes's *Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, see Susanna Gambino-Longo, "L'Ovide de Symeoni," in D'Amico and Magnien-Simonin, *Gabriele Simeoni* (*1509–1570?*), 201–13. In the same volume of essays, Sabine Lardon compares Simeoni's French and Italian versions of his *Présage du Triumphe des Gaulois* (1555), noting differences that are typographical, political, and cultural within the author's two versions of his own text. See "Gabriele Simeoni: Un Traducteur professionnel entre France et Italie au XVI^{e} siècle. Seconde Partie: L'Exemple du *Présage du Triumphe des gaulois* (1555)," 253–85. Similar types of variations also occur between Simeoni's French text and his subsequent Italian version of the *Illustres Observations*, a topic that remains to be studied in depth.

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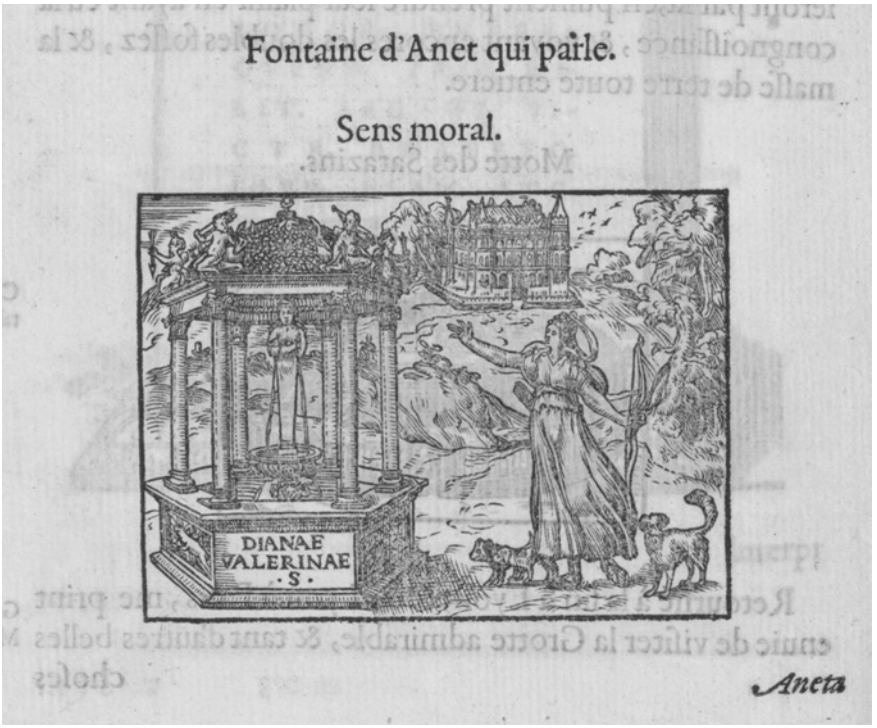

FIGURE 20.5 *The speaking fountain at Anet.* Les Illustres Obseruations antiques du seigneur Gabriel Symeon, Florentin: en son dernier voyage d'Italie l'an 1557 (*1558*), *96. Douglas H. Gordon Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

publications, including on the title page of Louise Labé's *Euvres* in 1555[14] (Figure 20.7). The pairing of Diana and Apollo in Simeoni's inscription calls to mind the symbols of Henri II as Apollo and of Diane as the goddess Diana throughout the décor and architectural features of the Château d'Anet.[15]

14 Simeoni's name has been associated with Louise Labé's since nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars identified him as possible author of several Italian poems (two sonnets, a ballad, and a madrigal) in praise of Labé included in the *Euvres de Louïze Labé Lionnoize* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1555). On this point, see Jean Balsamo, "Gabriel Syméoni, figure de l'italianisme français," in D'Amico and Magnien-Simonin, *Gabriele Simeoni* (*1509–1570?*), 79. See also Renucci, 83–86.

15 See Richard Etlin, "Architecture and the Sublime," in *The Sublime from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Timothy M. Costelloe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 230–74.

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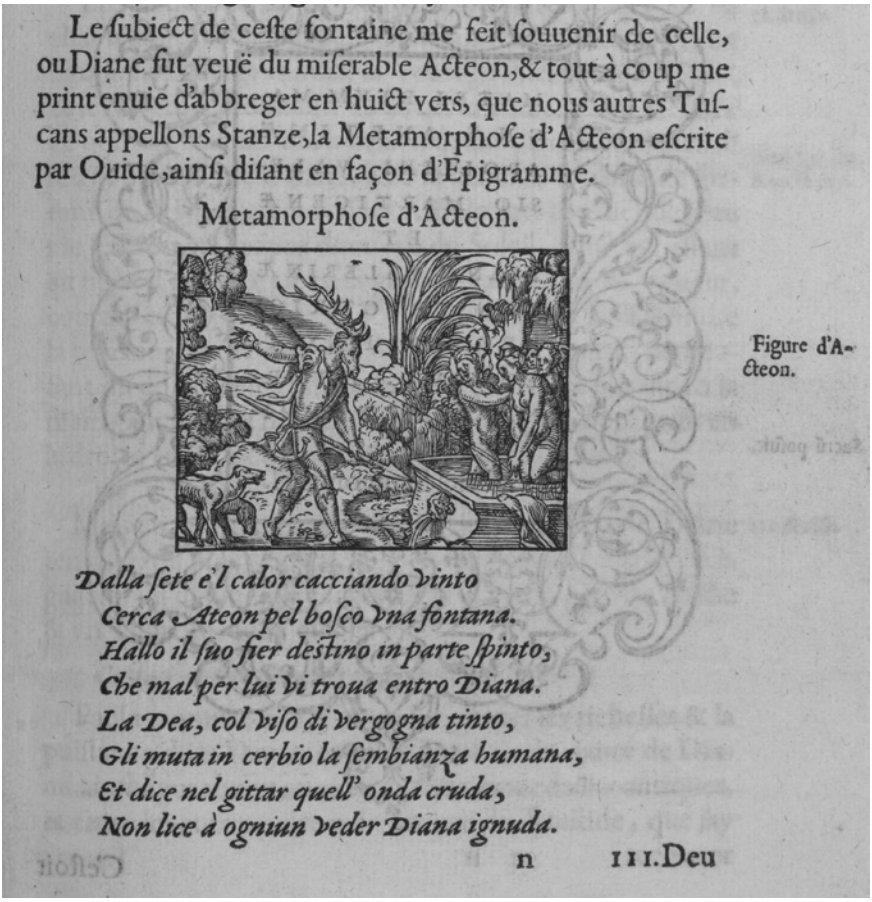
Le ſubiect de ceſte fontaine me feit ſouuenir de celle,
ou Diane fut veuë du miſerable Acteon, & tout à coup me
print enuie d'abbreger en huict vers, que nous autres Tuſ-
cans appellons Stanze, la Metamorphoſe d'Acteon eſcrite
par Ouide, ainſi diſant en façon d'Epigramme.
Metamorphoſe d'Acteon.
Figure d'Acteon.
Dalla ſete e'l calor cacciando vinto
Cerca Ateon pel boſco vna fontana.
Hallo il ſuo fier deſtino in parte ſpinto,
Che mal per lui vi troua entro Diana.
La Dea, col viſo di vergogna tinto,
Gli muta in cerbio la ſembianza humana,
Et dice nel gittar quell' onda cruda,
Non lice à ogniun veder Diana ignuda.
n
III. Deu

FIGURE 20.6 *Metamorphosis of Acteon.* Les Illustres Obseruations antiques du seigneur Gabriel Symeon, Florentin: en son dernier voyage d'Italie l'an 1557 (*1558*), *97. Douglas H. Gordon Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

The title above the ornately framed inscription announces the topic of the following pages: "III Devises pour les basses galleries du jardin d'Anet" (98) ["Three devices for the lower galleries of the Anet garden"]. Simeoni describes the third *devise*, in which Diana holds a globe or a golden apple in her right hand and a flame in her left.[16] A doe and a bull ("une Bische & un Taureau") pull her

16 The description of a *devise* for Anet featuring Diana holding "un globe ou pomme d'or" ["a globe or golden apple"] may well be an allusion to the statue of *Venus Genetrix* holding an apple, a gift from Naples, sent to François I[er] for Fontainebleau. The gift inspired

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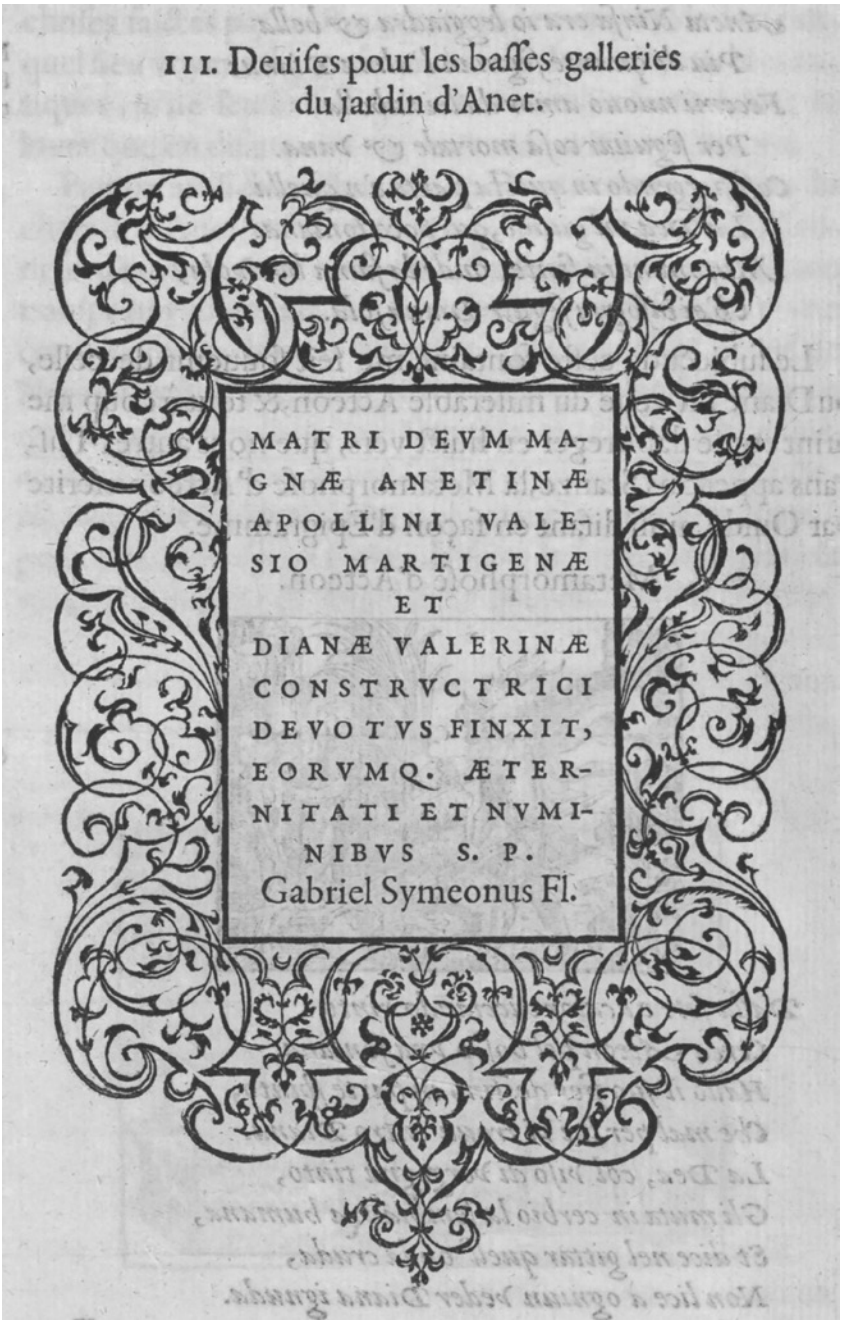

FIGURE 20.7 *Simeoni's inscription in Jean de Tournes's arabesque frame.* Les Illustres Obseruations antiques du seigneur Gabriel Symeon, Florentin: en son dernier voyage d'Italie l'an 1557 (*1558*), *98. Douglas H. Gordon Collection, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.*

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chariot, much like that of the Roman empress Faustina, whose medal Simeoni describes and reproduces on the following page. In this third *devise*, Simeoni makes the link with Diane de Poitiers explicit by associating Diana with the goddess's lunar qualities. Because of what he owes "Madame la Duchesse" and because of her chaste qualities, he notes, "je luy fey peindre ceste autre devise" (101) ["I had this other device painted for her"]. A rectangular woodcut on the following page depicts Diana's power to vanquish all Cupids. Simeoni concludes this section with the reproduction of both sides of a found medal depicting Diana and her veneration through the ages by temples, medals, and statues erected in her honor (103).[17]

In each of the cases noted—the visits to Laura's tomb in Avignon, to Petrarch's house in Fontaine-de-Vaucluse, and to the gardens of the Château d'Anet—Simeoni feels compelled to embellish or replace the objects he ostensibly observes on site. Whether by incorporating poetry written by the late king, by composing his own lyric verses in Italian, or by adding an inscription in Latin or a new monument, erected and inscribed in his book, Simeoni constructs a landscape of monuments that connects the epigrams he himself writes in Tuscan and engraves in Latin on the page with the wisdom of antiquity and with the glory of Petrarch. The new sonnet connecting his fame to that of the most famous of Italian poets and his beloved, the new tombstone to Laura that he erects in the pages of this volume, the inscription of his name on that monument and on the stone in front of Petrarch's "maisonette," all may well reflect the self-promotion of an intellectual in need of recognition and patronage.[18] Such passages, however, also reflect Simeoni's complex identity

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compositions by Italian and neo-Latin court poets, with Marot being the only poet to write two poems in French inspired by the statue (Cooper, *Roman Antiquities*, 132).

17 Simeoni's descriptions of the *devises* for Anet, and of fountains made to speak, place him in the company of Pontus de Tyard, whose *Douze Fables des fleuves ou fontaines* provided verse and prose narrative for iconographic projects destined for the decoration of the Château d'Anet, designed by Philibert de L'Orme and built for Diane de Poitiers in the 1550s. See Jean Balsamo, "Les poètes d'Anet," in *Henri II et les arts: Actes du colloque international, École du Louvre et Musée national de la Renaissance-Écouen, 25, 26 et 27 septembre 1997* (Paris: Ecole du Louvre, 2003), 417–25. See also Valérie Auclair, "De l'invention à l'œuvre: Les *Douze Fables de fleuves ou fontaines* de Pontus de Tyard," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 68, 1 (2006), 63–85; and Jan Miernowski, "La Poésie et la peinture: Les *Douze fables de fleuves ou fontaines* de Pontus de Tyard," *Bulletin de l'Association d'étude sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance* 18 (1984), 19–22.

18 The above-referenced recently published volume of essays about Simeoni's life and work, *Gabriele Simeoni (1509–1570?): Un Florentin en France entre princes et libraires*, opens with a reproduction of a watercolor image showing the topography of the Vaucluse and location

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as an Italian humanist seeking French patronage and readers in an era when French monarchs, poets, and other intellectuals admired and lamented the past glory of their Roman and Italian predecessors, but sought simultaneously to build a new Rome in France. François Ier, followed by Henri II, brought Italian artists and treasures of antiquity to Fontainebleau for that purpose. The Cardinal de Lorraine brought Italian artists to build the grotto in his garden at Meudon in the style of Roman villas. Simeoni praises the cardinal for his love of "toutes choses anciennes et rares" (A3r) ["all things ancient and rare"], reflected in the recreation of so many of the singularities of Rome at Meudon. Du Bellay's *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse* (1549) calls on poets to build new literary monuments in France to rival and bypass the glories of the classics. In their efforts to surpass their sources of inspiration, artists, architects, and poets nevertheless used the building blocks provided by Roman and Italian models (sometimes literally, when structures were built using stones from the rubble of classical ruins or gardens designed around classical statues imported from Italy).

As an Italian scholar seeking to make a living and a name for himself in France, Simeoni faced the challenge of expressing admiration for the grandeur of Roman and Florentine predecessors in a manner consistent with the goals of the French patrons he sought to impress, in texts to be published in France, and in so doing to create his own monuments and landscape as a writer faithful to his Italian roots and his own authorial ambitions.[19] When speaking of the grotto at Meudon, for example, decorated by Primaticcio for Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, to whom the *Illustres Observations* are dedicated, Simeoni declares that Rome is reborn in the grotto, with its many wonders and numerous antique statues and marbles (96). Later in the volume, Simeoni addresses the cardinal, remarking that great men who strive for immortality will reach that goal

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of Petrarch's house, an illustration in Simeoni's hand, inserted into the manuscript he sent in 1539 to Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of Florence. D'Amico and Magnien-Simonin note that the image draws attention to a primary theme of Simeoni's early manuscripts—the poetic "équation" between Laura and Petrarch, on the one hand, and Cosimo and Simeoni, on the other. The aspiring courtly poet hopes thus to present his services in the most favorable light to the duke (11). Simeoni adopts a similar strategy in the narration of his passage through the Vaucluse valley in the *Illustres Observations*.

19 Balsamo concludes that for Simeoni, despite the importance of Italian humanist models and Petrarch in particular, the underlying model of learning and culture to emulate was Roman, not Italian, and served as an imaginary ideal, rich with possibilities for French artists. Balsamo defines Simeoni's *italianisme* as "l'expression d'une nostalgie romaine, décorative et surtout poétique" (*Gabriele Simeoni*, 90) ["the expression of a Roman nostalgia, decorative and above all poetic"].

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by learning from the noble acts of great men of the past that live on through books, statues, medals, and epitaphs (131).[20] The Renaissance belief in the importance of learning about ancient monuments, coins, and inscriptions from literary sources allows Simeoni to shower praise on powerful French patrons while also claiming a role for his book that rivals the importance of the ancient monuments themselves. Simeoni may simultaneously enhance the glory of the cardinal or of the French monarchy, while also inventing new monuments and inscriptions that promote his own fame and fortune. As Karagiannis notes with regard to Renaissance numismatics, the popularity of Roman coins reflects on the one hand a desire to defend the honor of antiquity from ruin; on the other hand, their reproduction by means of engraved images on printed pages serves as a pretext for commentaries on political, religious, and aesthetic topics. Ultimately, the engraved reproductions "nourrissent l'*inventio* d'objets numismatiques et d'emblèmes modernes" (229) ["nourish the invention of numismatic objects and modern emblems"].

Readers may find the apparent inauthenticity of Simeoni's monuments and inscriptions disconcerting, but the distinction between the real and the imagined was often blurred in both lyric landscape and Renaissance cartography, as Louisa Mackenzie reminds us: "Renaissance writers would not have been surprised by the idea that exterior, physical space and interior, mental place are necessarily and constantly producing each other."[21] The exterior and the interior, the real and the invented, play complementary roles. In the works of Joachim du Bellay, for example, Cooper notes the coexistence of stereotypical, symbolic ruins—"scenography in the taste of the *Hypnerotomachia*, not topography after the manner of Marliani and Luca Fauno"—along with precise references to classical antiquities and Roman topography (*Roman Antiquities*, 343–44).

Cooper, Mackenzie, and others have illuminated the desire by French Renaissance poets to "rewrite, or overwrite, inherited classical and Italian poetic traditions in order to present a native French landscape which is both

20 As one example of this convention, Richard Cooper cites Coustau's *Pegma* (1555), with its moralizing poems accompanying woodcut illustrations of classical statues drawn from literature (*Roman Antiquities*, 330).

21 *The Poetry of Place: Lyric, Landscape, and Idealogy in Renaissance France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 7. Mackenzie points to the same phenomenon in lyric poetry and in cartography, in which "the boundaries between representational modes were more fluid than they are today" (30). See also Frank Lestringant, "Chorographie et paysage à la Renaissance," in *Ecrire le monde à la Renaissance. Quinze Etudes sur Rabelais, Postel, Bodin et la littérature géographique* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993), 49–67.

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topographic and cultural" (Mackenzie, 8). French poets, mapmakers, and kings admired and sought to reproduce the glories of antiquity while also creating new figurative and literal landscapes to construct a new Rome in France. Simeoni's text belongs to that tradition, representing a landscape that is both topographic and cultural, real and invented. Although his loyalties and inspiration may be divided between Italy and France, like many of his contemporaries, Simeoni is driven to invent his landscapes and monuments from those of the past, recognizing and drawing from the grandeur of Roman and Italian models in the effort to rival and surpass them, and striving in doing so to bring glory to powerful French patrons while constructing his own fame. Tom Conley explores the related phenomenon of a "new poetics of space in which topography plays a major and often changing role in the ideology of national identity."[22] He refers to Du Bellay and Ronsard, but points also to the works of the artist-cartographers whose talents were put to use in the production of emblem books, drawing city views and illustrating topographical poems, celebrating their sites of origin and establishing a new relation between word and image on the printed page:

> The technology of the woodcut fosters such intimate correlations of image and print that the one seems to be the simultaneous and coextensive essence and origin of the other. At the same time, they also mark visual and cognitive lines of divide between the one mode and the other. The combinations prompt reflection on the relation of word and image, text and type, and figure and place. (19)

The emblematic combinations of word and image, of figure and place, also prompt reflection on relations beyond the pages of the individual text. Simeoni's itinerary through a landscape of new and old monuments leads readers beyond the pages of this book, to his other published works. The Château d'Anet and its fountain for Diana provide an opening for the reproduction of an image from the *Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée* (Jean de Tournes, 1557) that will appear again in Simeoni's Italian version of the text, *La Vita et Metamorfoseo d'Ouidio, figurato & abbreuiato in forma d'epigrammi da M. Gabriello Symeoni*, published by Tournes in 1559. The Italian epigram accompanying the woodcut in the *Illustres Observations* is the same as the text printed with the woodcut one year later in the 1559 Italian edition of the illustrated *Metamorfoseo.* Whether it was Jean de Tournes's idea or Simeoni's, including the graphic and textual

22 Tom Conley, *An Errant Eye: Poetry and Topography in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 19.

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preview of coming attractions was undoubtedly beneficial to both publisher and author.[23] Simeoni's text is linked thematically and visually to many other works published by Tournes and by Rouillé in Lyon, including emblem books by Alciato and Giovio, *Bibles figurées* (in several languages), books on architecture and royal entries, hieroglyphs, and lyric poetry in French and Italian, notably the works of Petrarch.[24] Whether Jean de Tournes collaborated with Simeoni in the preparation of the *Illustres Observations* or simply chose to publish the book (in French and then in an Italian version) because it suited his editorial policy, the volume represents an intriguing example of what Michel Jourde has called "intertextualité" (the relationship between works published by the imprimeur/libraire) as "publicité" (promotion of a commercial identity) in the career of Jean de Tournes.[25]

One type of editorial intertextuality that Jourde identifies in the publications of Tournes is that of "analogy," or resemblance between the books that the printer-bookseller publishes. That *ressemblance* might be the product of an ongoing collaboration, as with the many books edited by Antoine du Moulin. In other cases, the analogy between books comes not from an ongoing collaboration, but from Tournes's own publication project, as with the "series" of publications consecrated to Tuscan poetry—beginning with Dante and Petrarch: "Si chaque livre existe pour lui-même et vise un public distinct, c'est pourtant l'existence de la série qui détermine la valeur de chaque livre …" (322) ["If each

23 For more about the illustration of these emblematic editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* see Peter Sharratt, *Bernard Salomon. Illustrateur lyonnais* (Geneva: Droz, 2005).

24 The combination here of Simeoni's Italian epigram and the woodcut image depicting the scene of Acteon's metamorphosis, like the Fontaine-de-Vaucluse vignette accompanied by prose and verse text, recalls the emblematic format of many of Simeoni's other works, including *La Vita et Metamorfoseo d'Ouidio* (*1559*), *Le Imprese heroiche et morali …* (Rouillé, 1559), and his verses for the Old Testament *Figure de la Biblia, illustrate da stanze tuscane*, first published by Guillaume Rouillé in 1564, and the *Figure del Nuovo Testamento, illustrate da versi vulgari italiani* (Lyon: Rouillé, 1570), which follow many popular versions of emblematic biblical texts in French and other vernacular languages published from the 1550s on by Tournes and Rouillé in Lyon. For more on this genre, see the comprehensive study by Max Engammare, "Les Figures de la Bible: Le destin oublié d'un genre littéraire en image (XVI^{e}–XVII^{e} s.)," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerrannée* 106, 2 (1994), 549–91. For more about Simeoni's role in this publishing phenomenon, see Paola Cosentino, "Bibbia con figure: Gabriele Simeoni e la tradizione delle sacre scritture illustrate," in D'Amico and Magnien-Simonin, *Gabriele Simeoni* (*1509–1570?*), 215–33.

25 "Intertextualité et publicité: Publier selon Jean de Tournes (1542–1564)," *French Studies* 65, 3 (2011), 315–26.

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book exists for itself and targets a distinct public, it's nevertheless the existence of the series that determines the value of each book"].

Jourde examines the intertextual links between Tournes, Scève, and Petrarch (via Sébastien Gryphe), connections that surface in Simeoni's passages in the *Illustres Observations* regarding his own discovery of Laura's tomb and the invented monuments and inscriptions highlighting his ties to Petrarch and Laura (323–24). Publication in the context provided by Tournes's establishment was bound to bring Simeoni's book to the attention of readers appreciative of this theme of Petrarchan discovery and inspiration—and vice versa. Even a simple typographical element—the arabesque frame around Simeoni's inscription for Henri II and Diane de Poitiers (98)—serves as an elegant visual link to the title page of another popular volume of French poetry in the Petrarchan vein, Louise Labé's *Euvres*, published by Jean de Tournes in 1555. The same is true of the links (through illustrations and text) with Tournes's edition of the *Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*. Simeoni's autobiography also highlights the connections between these books and their publication by Jean de Tournes. Simeoni relates that, upon his return to Lyon, he gathered everything notable, seen on sea or land, and made "un bel libro con molte figure stampato in toscano et franzese da Giovanni di Tornes" (*Vita*, 552) ["a beautiful book with many illustrations published in Tuscan and French by Jean de Tournes"]. He adds that, because he could not stay idle, he then adapted Ovid's fables to epigram form for a book with illustrations "stampato del medesimo Tornes" (552) ["published by the very same Tournes"].

In the next sentence, Simeoni describes his edition of Giovio's emblems, joined with his own, first published in Lyon in 1559 by Guillaume Rouillé. In a similar manner, Simeoni's translations of Du Choul's books on Roman religion and military history, likewise reproducing many coins, medals, and inscriptions, tie the *Illustres Observations* and Simeoni's other works to the publishing projects of Guillaume Rouillé. The same can be said for Simeoni's Italian epigrams in Rouillé's Italian editions of *Bibles figurées*. In Simeoni's case, "intertextuality" coincides well with and contributes to the "publicité" of both author and publisher.[26]

26 Alessandra Villa examines Simeoni's participation in Guillaume Rouillé's editorial and promotional strategies for the publications of Du Choul's works. See "Gli studi antiquari di Gabrile Simeoni," in D'Amico and Magnien-Simonin, *Gabriele Simeoni* (*1509–1570?*), 323–46. Villa also points out the degree to which each of Simeoni's own antiquarian studies serves in effect to publicize the others, whether already published or in progress: "sono una sorta di vetrina, un catalogo d'autore" (343) ["they're a sort of showcase, an author's catalogue"].

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Incorporating and reflecting many different intellectual trends, literary traditions, and publishing genres, but fitting neatly into none of them, the volume presents a challenge to scholars in any one field or discipline today. The recognition of that challenge led to the organization of a colloquium on Gabriele Simeoni ("Un courtisan entre l'Italie et la France") in October 2011 at the Université Savoie Mont Blanc.[27] The conference organizers attribute the paucity of critical studies devoted to Simeoni (despite his involvement in and links to so many cultural, intellectual, aesthetic, and political trends of his day) to the unique nature of his works. To understand the range of his production requires specialists of poetry, archeology, history, geography, Renaissance astrology, and the book arts, diverse fields represented in the Chambéry papers and the recently published proceedings of the conference.[28]

Further collaborative efforts may well yield new discoveries in and about the slim volume of Simeoni's *Illustres Observations antiques*, written by an ambitious, bright, enterprising scholar (albeit with a high opinion of his own talents), and published by one of Lyon's most successful humanist printers, who specialized in all of the genres represented in Simeoni's text. This quick look at several of the "intertextual" elements of the *Illustres Observations* aims finally to advance the "publicité" for this curious book, whose format and content may lead us to additional insights (and undoubtedly more questions) about the relationships between text and image, and between author, publisher, and reader in mid-sixteenth-century France.

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27 *Gabriele Simeoni, Un courtisan entre l'Italie et la France*, colloquium organized by Silvia D'Amico, Chambéry, Université Savoie Mont Blanc, France, October 20–22, 2011. http://www.fabula.org/actualites/gabriele-simeoni-un-courtisan-entre-l-italie-et-la-france_46812.php. The conference program is available online at http://www.sies-asso.org/pdf/autres/Gabriele Simeoni.pdf.

28 The volume of essays from the colloquium also includes new critical editions of several previously unpublished texts. See D'Amico and Magnien-Simonin, *Gabriele Simeoni (1509–1570?)*.

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